

hist. of france Vol. 6.

REMARKS

ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE FRENCH COURT,

FROM
CHARLES VIII. to the latter Part
of the Reign of LEWIS XIV.

SHEWING

What little Regard has been had to the Faith
of TREATIES; the Ties of Blood, Marriage,
Friendship and Oaths, &c.

PARTICULARLY
In what manner they have dealt with ENG-
LAND, Germany, Spain, Portugal, Poland,
Sweden, Sicily; not omitting the States Gene-
ral, the Electors of Brandenburg, Palatine
and Mentz, the Dukes of Lorain and New-
burg, &c.

Proper to be compar'd with the *Present*
Times, and to be perus'd by all true *English*
Men; by which they may judge, how far
the *French* are to be depended on by their
Allies, either in Time of *Peace* or *War*.

Odimus accipitrem, quia semper vivit in armis.

L O N D O N :

Printed by S. Palmer and J. Huggonson in Bar-
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FRENCH COURT



ERRATA.

PAGE 8. Line 4. for *bath* read *bad*. p. 29.
l. 16. for *for* read *from*. p. 52. l. 14. for
our read *your*. p. 60. l. 15. for *whenever* read
wherever. p. 63. l. 5. for *became* read *to become*.



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To the Most High, Puissant,
and Noble Prince,

WRIOTHESLY RUSSEL,
Duke and Earl of *Bedford*,
Marquis of *Tavistoke*, Ba-
ron *Russel* of *Thornhaugh*,
and Baron *Howland* of
Streatham.

May it please your Grace,



O permit me, who
am a just Admirer
of Your great and
amiable Character,
to lay this *Short*
Narrative of the
former Conduct of
the *French Court* both in Peace
and War (a seasonable *Memento*
to

to our present Age) at the Feet of *One*, whose Descent from a long Ancestry of worthy Patriots inspires him with an Emulation of their Glory; whose large and opulent Fortune gives him the Freedom of acting, by setting him above all fordid Allurements; and whose generous and unbounded Spirit teaches him to employ that Fortune to the best of Purposes, the Promotion of his Country's and his fellow Creature's Welfare.

Strong are the Assurances of Friendship and Fidelity, which a *neighbouring Nation* is incessantly giving us; but, how much soever we may trust to *Treaties* and *Alliances*, it may not misbecome every true Lover of his Country to have a watchful Eye on the Conduct of a People, who have been long accusom'd to live in *Hostilities*, and to look upon ENGLAND as the sole Impediment of their grow-

growing Power ; who cannot but resent the *Dedition* of their Territories abroad, the *Demolition* of their *favourite Port* at home, and our present *Remonstrances* against the *clandestine* Reparations of it ; who feel to this Day, a secret Smart and Anguish in the frequent *Defeats* given to their Arms by our superior Strength, under the auspicious Conduct of our *victorious General* ; and (what is a peculiar Call to our Vigilance) who, notwithstanding these *Defeats*, have recover'd themselves so suddenly, and by their Dexterity in Negotiations repair'd all their Disadvantages in War.

*Duris ut Ilex tonsa bipennibus
Nigræ feraci frondis in Algido,
Per damna, per cædeis ab ipso
Ducit opes animumque ferro.*

H O R. car. l. 4. od. 4.

With

iv DEDICATION.

With this View it is, My Lord, that I publish these *Memoirs*, and were their Composition answerable to their Design, I might promise myself the Commendation of every *True Briton*. Under Your Lordship's Patronage however I hope to escape their Censure, for attempting to do this Service to my Country, which was the only Way, I had, of approving myself,

My Lord, Your Grace's

Most Humble and

Most Devoted Servant,

R. CROFT.



REMARKS
ON THE
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
FRENCH COURT.

The INTRODUCTION.



WHEN this History commenc'd, certainly it was high time to think of making the *Ministers of France* better *Christians*; for 'tis apparent they had taken up the Principle of the common *Enemy of Christendom*, and to make his *Maxims*, the Rules and Measure of their Proceedings, viz. *Absolute Power at home*, and *Universal Empire abroad*, was their Aim, as well as the *Turks*. And seeing that by such Actions all the Duties of Christianity were laid in the Dust, it would be hard to determine under which of the two, *Christendom* would obtain fairest Quar-

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ter,

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ter, after an absolute Conquest; for tho' France be Owner of the *better Faith*, yet *the other keep Faith better*; because all Travellers agree that the *Turks* count it Religion to keep their Word and Promise.

But, it seems, *France* may do any thing *Regnandi Causa*, as we shall shew by and by, when we come to tell how little Value is made of *Promises, Obligations, Alliances, and Sacraments*. In these Things they exceed the *Grand Signior*; but in Matter and Extent of *absolute Dominion*, they are his Rivals; and, aspiring to forestall him in his Design upon *Europe*, they affect to become sole Masters of a *Western*, as he is of the *Eastern Empire*. And why not? Why should not *Lewis* the XIV. have had it, as his Predecessor *Charlemain* had it heretofore? His great Ministers and Officers, both *Civil* and *Military*, say, they have ample Territories, and very Populous, and a most numerous Nobility, and Gentry; as much Courage as their Ancestors, with the Advantage of being train'd up either by Actions of War, or warlike Exercises, together with the Situation of their Country, and the Opportunity they thence have of Invading their Neighbours, upon all Occasions.

The Fruitfulness and Riches of the Soil, the prodigious Quantity of all Sorts of Commodities, Manufactures, and otherways, whereby they supply neighbouring Countries, and withal, the vast Revenues of their Kings who have govern'd of late, without Check or Controul, do all conspire to give them Advantage and Opportunity of oppressing other States or Princes. They boast how *Charles the VIII* frighted all other *Potentates* by the surprizing Conquest of the Kingdom of *Naples*; how they contended with the

the *Austrian* Family, when it had been rais'd on a sudden to a wondrous Grandeur, by the Accession of innumerable Provinces, united in the Person of *Charles* the V.; and how their King *Francis* the I. had like to have carry'd from him the *Imperial Crown*, and to that Purpose had engag'd several of the *Electors*: But they forget to tell us, that when he had miss'd it, (then to be revenged on the *Emperor*, and the other *Christian Princes*) he was the First, who taught the *French Kings* the most *Christian Trick* of making Leagues with the *Turks*; for so he did with *Solyman the Magnificent*, as you have it in my Lord *Herbert's* History of our *Henry* the VIII. and accordingly God prosper'd him: For tho' he had several Times the *Turks* Assistance to carry on his revengful Designs, to the Hazard of all *Christendom*, yet at last he was forced to yeild to the victorious Arms of that *Emperor Charles*, who took him Prisoner, and made him buy his Peace at an extraordinary Rate. But yet his Son *Henry* the II. had better Success, and would have extended his Dominions very far, had he not been prevented by a sudden, unfortunate Death, as did also his Successor *Henry* the III.

Then came on his Successor *Henry* the IV. and of him they boast that he subdued *Monsters of Factions* at home, and afterwards reviv'd that monstrous Design of Grasping all abroad; that having made good his Title to the Crown by the Success of his Arms, he bent all his Thoughts upon a Project, vast in its Extent, as extraordinary in the Nature of it; intending no less than to cast *Europe* into a new Model, and reduce all the Kingdoms, and Commonwealths, that were in his Time, to a certain Number, and to bring them into such Bounds as he should

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think fit to prescribe to them, reserving to himself a Portion so considerable, as to have enabled him, or at least his Successors, to accomplish that universal Monarchy, which had been first design'd by his Predecessor *Francis*. To this effect, he had made Choice of his Generals, and other great Officers, furnish'd his Arcenals with mighty Stores of Arms, and collected prodigious Sums of Money into his Treasury, and then all came to nothing, by a sudden unexpected Stroke, which was given him by the Hand of *Ravalliac*.

After him, his Son *Lewis* the XIII. (though by reason of some Domestick Broils, and Civil Wars, he was not at leisure to carry on the Project of his Predecessors) by employing to that Purpose the great Armory, and Wealth, which his Father provided, he had, nevertheless, an Eye towards it; and *Cardinal Richelieu*, with the rest of his Ministers, finding that the House of *Austria* was very near bringing all *Germany* under their Subjection, and after the Battle of *Prague*, stood fair to carry away *Universal Empire*, (the Darling of *France*) they hastened, with what Speed they could, to put an End to Civil Dissentions, which when they had done, being courted by divers *Princes* for Assistance and Protection against the growing Power of the *Austrian* Family, and were glad of the Opportunity, reckoning, that under a Shew of assisting weak *Princes*, they at length might take occasion to share with them their Principalities, and by that Means vastly increase their own Power: By which they subdu'd new Provinces, and considerable Towns in *Spain*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and the *Low Countries* which at last made the *Princes* as jealous almost of them, as they had been before

fore of the *Austrian* Family ; so that to prevent further Mischief, they were content to sit down with their Losses, rather than trust their *French Alliances* any longer, which occasion'd that great Treaty held at *Munster*, which ended in a general Peace, *Anno Dom.* 1648.

Before I proceed any farther, I wou'd crave Leave of the Reader to draw an Observation or two of what has been hitherto said, *viz.* First, That had not *France* had a marvellous Wit, Courage, and Fortune, it could never have borne its Head above Water, in the midst of so many Waves and Tempests of Discord, and Rebellion, as were rais'd during the Reigns of the foremention'd *Kings*, and yet continu'd in a Condition to maintain itself, and likewise bid fair against its *Austrian Rival*, for general Dominion.

Secondly, That in all Ages, as soon as their intestine Troubles have been over, they have still, out of a restless warlike Humour, endeavour'd to encroach upon their Neighbours, and for enlarging their own Territories ; laid hold upon all Opportunities to disturb Mankind, nor could they ever yet set any Bounds to their Ambition.

Thirdly, That their ambitious Humour, supported by the Greatness of Power, would long before this, have brought all *Europe* under Subjection, if their own Divisions and private Quarrels, had not from time to time retarded their Designs for many Years ; or had not their greatest Princes been cut off, before they could finish their intended Work.

Fourthly and lastly, As a Consequence of the three former, that it was, and will be, the true Interest of all *Princes*, to oppose the *French* Designs ;

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signs ; or, if they have at any Time Occasion to use them against other Oppressors, yet still to remember, *that no Oppression is like theirs*, and that they meditate it always, even in the midst of Friendship : And therefore, that they are not to accept of their Assistance longer or further, than meer Necessity, or publick Utility require it, but to cast them off as soon as the Danger is over : As it was practis'd in the Peace of *Passaw*, in the Time of *Henry* the II. and in that of *Munster* ; in both which the *French* were prevented from further Progress, by Reason of the Jealousy of their *Allies* : However, in all such Occasions, they ever made Acquisitions, and came off with great Advantages.

In the Stories of such great Achievements of their Princes, the *French Ministers* pride and delight themselves, and to their Monarchs, when youthful, they propound them for Imitation ; to this End, it was the Care of *Cardinal Mazarine*, in the Minority of the King, to provide him an able Tutor, that might form and fix in the Mind of his Majesty, the greatest *Ideas* of Glory and warlike Enterprizes. This was the Bishop of *Rodes*, his first Preceptor, who, as soon as his young Master came to understand Letters, instead of diverting him with *Romances*, entertain'd him in Reading the Lives and Actions of the greatest of his Predecessors, but above all, recommended to him the Story and Model of a great Prince, in the Actions and Exploits of his Grandfather *Henry* the IV. to this Purpose wrote a very accurate Book, which hath since been publish'd. This Prince, by his own natural *Genius*, as well as the happy Success of his first Undertakings, pursu'd these Instructions, and propos'd to himself that Example as the

the sole Rule of his Actions. The History of that great King was his most ordinary Study. In imitation of him, he took Care to accumulate a vast Treasure, and rais'd a mighty Revenue, sought for Alliances abroad, and successively rais'd many numerous Armies. It is evident therefore, that he acted upon the very same Plans, and all were but the old Projects of his Predecessors renew'd, and the Effects of those Impressions, which he suck'd in with his Milk. Do but read the Book call'd the *Memoirs of Henry the IV.* with those of President *Iceannin*, and the Bishop of *Rodes*, and then you cannot but conclude, that whatsoever his most potent Grandfather had conceiv'd in his Imagination, and intended to bring forth, by the Power of his Armies, viz. a wondrous Theatre of *Unchristian Glory*, founded upon a mountainous Heap of *Christian Souls*, to amaze and terrify Mankind into an *Universal Slavery*, that he endeavour'd to put in Execution; for as the Desire of Glory hath no Bounds, and in regard, his Years and Condition put him into a Capacity to run a longer Course than did *Henry le Grand*, we cou'd not reasonably expect otherwise, but that he, who so often cross'd the *Rhine*, after he had over-run the *Continent*, wou'd cross the *narrow Seas* likewise to make us a Visit.

The Writers of that Age, taking a great deal of Pains, to nourish these Thoughts in him, had no other Study, but how to feed this his natural Humour, and to transfuse the same into his Son the *Dauphin*. They sacrific'd their Pens to the Encrease of that native Desire of Glory which they discover'd in them, and the great Rewards, that were given to the Writers for it, are authentick Proofs of an Acceptance of their
Ser-

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Service. But surely, such Acknowledgements from a young high Spirit, who yet believ'd himself to be in a Condition to execute all that pleas'd him, and who hath drunk down the Maxim, *That to take Possession by the Sword any Title is sufficient*, was previously a very dangerous Sentence upon all the rest of Mankind, against whom, his Ministers should persuade him, that he had any Shadow of Pretensions. And that this may more clearly appear to us, we need only read the printed Books, since dedicated to him, among which is one that carries this Title, viz. *The just Pretences of the King of France to the Empire*: Which Book, having laid down this for a Position, *That the Dominions of Sovereign Princes, which have been the Conquests of other Crowns, can be never alienated, but may be resolv'd into these two Conclusions.*

First, *That the greatest Part of Germany is the Patrimony, and antient Inheritance of the French Princes.*

Secondly, *That Charlemain did possess Germany, as King of France, and not as Emperor.*

What may not be drawn from such kind of Assertions?

*Nibil est quod credene de se Ambitio
Laudata Nequit.*

If these Things be believ'd in France, what may not the Authors of France prevail with their Master to do? May they not as well prove and persuade him, *that he wears the Titles of other Princes within the Pomel of his Sword*? If one may judge of what is to come by what is past, all Europe will have Cause enough to stand upon their Guard, and take Alarm, to prevent the Machi-

Machinations of the *French* Ministry, whose sole Business it is to blow up the Glory of their Master to a mighty *Bubble*; and 'tis, indeed, no more than a *Bubble*, that he gets. He is at the Expence, whilst they collect for themselves mighty Fortunes out of the Ruins of Mankind, and feed the *Marshalls*, and the other great *Military Officers*, with Expectations of sharing other Princes Dominions, and as fast as they can conquer, to be all made Princes.



SECTION I.

Shewing, how far the French Ministers have receded from the known Rules of Justice in making War.

THE Heathens (as Historians tell us) made it a point of Conscience, never to begin a War upon their Neighbours, or others, until they had *Causes* sufficient to justify them in it. For this *Principle* the *Romans* were most eminent; and therefore such *Causes*, they, in their Language, term'd *Principia*; that is to say, *Beginnings*, or *Principles*; intimating thereby, that no War could be well begun, without them, nor luckily end; and according to what the *Rhodian* Ambassadors, in their Orations made to the Senate of *Rome* say. *Certe quidem vos estis Romani, &c.* 'You are Romans indeed, because ye place your Glory in this, that ye expect your Wars should prove successful, for ye look to the *Principia*, the beginning of them, that they

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be not without Cause undertaken, rather than to a victorious Event. Much might be said to this point out of *Cicero*, and others, who wrote of the Laws, universally receiv'd among Nations: But, to be short, Writers on that Subject do generally determine, that the just Causes of War are reducible to the three following Heads.

First, *That it be undertaken for Defence; or,*

Second, *For Recovery of what hath been taken away; or,*

Third, *For the Punishment of Injuries done.*

Some one of these ought to be Ingredient in the beginning of a War, else it cannot have a just Cause: Let us then examine the *French War* by these Rules.

When it began, the World was very much at Peace, and *France* so much superior in Power and Greatness to other Nations, that it need not to fear any of its Neighbours; and consequently had no necessity of any Accession of neighbouring Powers for its Defence.

Again, the Crown of *France* was then so far from having been robb'd by any other Nation, that it had aggrandiz'd it self above all Proportion, by the Spoils that it had made of many Nations; nor was any of the Neighbour Nations in other State and Condition, in respect of the *French Power*, than as the *Lark* under the *Hobby*; not daring so much as to stir, but was glad to couch, and lie close under all the Oppressions and Rapines, that had been practis'd upon them by the *French*. It were too tedious here to recite their Actions to their Neighbouring Countries, since Evidence hereof is notorious to the World, and may be collected out of our ensuing Discourse.

More

of the FRENCH COURT. II

Moreover the *French* were so far from having any Cause to make War, to punish any for Injuries done; that having been, in that respect also, before hand with their Neighbours, most other Princes had *then* abundant Reason to complain against Injuries of the highest Nature acted upon them, and to punish them with such Revenges, as are due to the *common Enemies* and Disturbers of Mankind. And truly we may well take it for a Kind of tacit Confession, that they had no just Cause nor Occasion for beginning the War, seeing that in a *Declaration*, consisting but of a few Lines (which the *French Ministers* put forth in the Name of their King, before the Invading of the *united Provinces*) there is not the least Mention made of any Cause, save, that it was for their *King's Glory*: Because, forsooth, the *Hollanders* had (but we were not told how) *De-tracted from his Glory, and the Glory of his Ancestors*. Not a Word of any other Cause; nor was the Glory of God concerned in it, whose Work it is usually to pour Shame and Contempt, in the end upon all such Glory.

There is also another Point, which, of old, hath been in Use, and that is a *Denunciation of War* before the beginning of it. *Collegium fecialium*, a College of Heralds was instituted in old Rome, without whose Advice, as the *Roman Senate* never made War, so, having first referr'd to them to consider of the Justness of their Undertaking, if they determin'd the Justice of it, then one of the same College was sent to the Enemy, (before any Act of Hostility on their part) to denounce it. So *Cicero*, in his first Book of Offices, *Belli quidem æquitas sanctissimè feciali populi Romani jure præscripta est*; that is to say, *The Equity of any War was most religiously determin'd, ac-*
C 2 *cording*

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cording to the Law of the College of Herald's. They had likewise certain Laws in that College, which were called *Jura fecialia*, by which they judg'd of the Juſtneſs of every War before they enter'd upon it; and when Wars were denounc'd, they were call'd *Promulgata prælia*. For take away Juſtice, and what are Wars, but grand Robberies, and murderous Executions?

Thus conſcienciouſly and ſolemnly proceeded meer *Heathens* heretofore. And ſhall they not then riſe up in Judgment, hereafter, againſt ſuch *French Chriſtians*? For their Miniſters, not minding Right or Wrong, thought it better to begin the War by way of Surprize upon the *Dutch Republick*, reckoning it a ſurer Way to get Poſſeſſion, and afterwards to leave it to the ſcrupulous Criticks of Law, and Conſcience, to write and diſpute about the Juſtice of the Work; no matter whether it were righteous, as long as it was, in their Senſe, and by cuſtom, became a glorious Achievement, to invade on a ſudden, and oppreſs their Neighbours; and herein they gave the World an ample Proof, by ſurprizing the Dominions of *Flanders, Lorain, Sicily*, and many other Countries. After what has been thus ſaid and obſerv'd, 'tis too notorious to be deny'd, that the Riſe of that War, was againſt all the juſt Rules of warlike Undertakings; and that all which they, or any body elſe, can have to ſay in excuſe of it, is, that they are born under a Neceſſity of giving Trouble to all the reſt of the World, in order to the Preſervation of themſelves at home. For if Wars were not found out for them abroad, to entertain and exerciſe their young Nobility, at the Expence of their Neighbours, they would droop and loſe their Art of Arms. The *Genius*, in truth,

truth, of the Nation is such, that it cannot endure to live long in the Idleness of Peace: They are of a Nature so hot, that there must be Aliment for this Fire, and if some were not given it from abroad, it would form to it self Matter at home.

To this natural Propension must be added the Custom in most part of their Provinces, and the particular Disposition of noble Families, which give so great Advantages to the elder Brothers, that they leave nothing almost to the Younger, but their Industry and Sword. And whereas they rarely betake themselves to Letters to obtain a Livelihood, and their Quality suffers them not to apply themselves to *Mechanick* Trades, there is nothing left for them, but either their *ligitimate* Robbery in War, or *common* Robbery, in order to preserve themselves from Want and Poverty. From hence it comes to pass, that their Kingdom always finds it self filled with an idle and daring Youth, ready to undertake any thing, and who seek Employments for their Valour, be it at whose Cost it will. The Liberty which they had heretofore to pursue this pernicious Humour in *Duelling* is, at present, taken from them, by wholesome Decrees of their King; so that did not his Ministers find out a foreign Vent for their Spleen, whereby to make it evaporate, the Flame would be breaking forth within their own Bowels.

Moreover, as the greatest Revenues of the Crown of *France* rise out of the Purse of the People, so, because the common Contribution cannot be exacted in Times of Peace, without making a great many *Male-contents*; its always necessary to feed and fume the airy Multitude with Smoak of some Conquests, wherein they al-
so

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so are apt to glory ; tho' they (poor Creatures !) get no more by the Chaining of Neighbouring Nations, but to have more Fellow-Slaves, and to have their own Fetters set the harder on, and fastned the firmer, at their Heels. To which end the Grandees are always coining Pretences of Quarrel, to continue in Arms ; and maintain by Force that Royal Authority, which hath so strongly overflown the Limits of their fundamental Laws. Otherwise it is impossible to satisfy all the Princes and great Men of the Realm ; tho' the Princes are not so numerous now as they were in the Times of *Henry* the III. and IV. since which, they have taken it up, as a principal Policy, to diminish the Princes as fast as they can, and to keep them always employ'd in foreign Wars ; that by inciting them into Glory, they may be consum'd e're long in ruinous Undertakings, to the Consumption of their own, as well as other Nations. The Platform of which Device was first laid, and in part effected, by *Cardinal Richelieu*, and in a great Measure compleated by *Mazarine*, his Successor, two of the Grand Ministers of States. So that you see how they observe the Rules of Justice, whether they deal with their own Princes, and People, or with Foreigners, be it by the Way of War or Peace ; making havock of all Mankind without remorse, to make great a few of themselves ; and that their King might drive furiously on, they have given his Fancy a fair Prospect of an imaginary Throne of Glory at his Journey's end, on which they promise to place and elevate him above petty Powers, as sole *Monarch* and *Emperor* of the Christian Universe.

SECTION II.

*Proving that as they have observ'd
no Rule of Justice in making
War, so they have had little
Regard to it, in observing Peace,
when made.*

I Would not make thus bold with *France*, were it not, that there is a necessity for it, it was no Time to be mealy mouth'd (as we phrase it) but to speak out, seeing all that was ours at that time involv'd in the common Fate of *Europe*; and our Cause cou'd not but be just, because we had Patience, and try'd all manner of fair Means to induce the *French Ministers* to grant a Peace; and we have borne their Injuries to the utmost; among which this hath been no small one, that under pretence of allowing our *King* the Christian Office of a fair Mediatorship, they, by going at the same Time to ravish the rest of *Flanders*, have thereby shewn plainly to all the World, that their Intent was merely to delude and abuse us.

In handling this Subject, it is our Concern to evince, how they have violated the Laws of Nations, and to prevent the introducing of such *Maxims* into the World, as would destroy the whole Commerce of Mankind, and render human Societies as dangerous as the Company of Lyons and Tygers. We are also no less concern'd to defend the publick Faith of Treaties, against their *Finesses*, and subtle Evasions, to
preserve

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preserve the *Law of Arms*, within the Rules and Formalities, which the Consent of all Nations hath establish'd, and to remove out of the Sight of *Christendom* such scandalous Examples, which, by lamentable Consequences, would expose the Weaker to the Will and Pleasure of the Stronger, and establish *force the sole Arbiter* of all Proceedings. We are to meditate such Causes and Means, as may stop a rapid Torrent, against the Impetuosity, whereof neither Peace, Marriage, or Oaths, Blood, Kindred, Friendship, nor Condescension can be Banks, strong enough to keep it within the Channel. It is to our purpose to defend the common Interest of all States, and Princes against vast Designs, which have for their Cause, nothing but a predominant Desire of Conquests; for their End, Dominion; for their Means, Arms and Intricacies; nor for its Limits any Thing, but what Chance will prescribe.

In a Word, it's our Business to decide the Fortune of *Europe*, and to pronounce the Sentence either of its Freedom, or Slavery; for betwixt these two, no *middle State* can be attain'd, no Peace be assur'd.

Other Princes, must (as long as they can) oppose *France*, to preserve themselves free; because *France* will never be at rest, till she hath hung about their Necks the *Yoke of Conquests*: And if she should hearken to Terms of a *Pacification*, know, that you are not to enjoy it longer, than she, by gaining of Time, to form fresh Councils into new Designs, thinks fit to make a new *Rupture*, and fall in upon you on a sudden, like a mighty Tempest. The *French Faith* hath, of late Years, been pure *punick*, no sooner given, but as soon broken; and she, by
tamper-

tampering with other Prince's Ministers and Subjects, instructs them how to manage their Faith in point of Truth to best Advantage, and by a Metal of her own, tries what Metal they are made of, e'er she deals with their Masters; and without Noise, shoots down more Castles, Citadels and Forts, and take more Towns, than with all the roaring of her Canon. It hath been observ'd, that when her Ambassadors go Abroad, they carry along with them these principal Engines, or else they are sent after them. The Truth of this hath been too notorious to the Emperor at *Vienna*, and in *Sweden*, *Poland*, *Hungary*, *Hanover*, *Bavaria*, *Munster*, and other Places of the *Empire*; so that an Ambassador, or Agent, usually goes before the Army, and a Conquest follows: Which is a new Way to Glory, unknown to *Cæsar*, or any of the dull *Roman Conquerors*. But against an Enemy, any thing now is glorious.

An dolus, an Virtus, quis in hoste Requirit.

And if this Course of corrupting other Men's Faith be a Virtue, 'tis no Wonder she can so readily, without straining, quit her own, by a quick Discharge of all Agreements, and Obligations. Old *Nicholus*, the *Florentine*, saith, *Rattles were invented to please Children, and Oaths Men*, that is to say, to make Men meer Children. But the best Way to satisfy the World about this Matter, will be to give a brief Account of the Conduct and Carriage of the *French Court*, before the Ministers which are now in Employ there, appear'd upon the Stage; who are not likely to relinquish those Methods, which they were bred up in, nor to act upon any
D other

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other Principles, than those that were taught them in the School of their two *Cardinal Masters*: Of the latter of them, *viz. Mazarine*, it is reported by many that upon several Occasions, he had been heard to say, that it was a Meanness in a Man of a State Employment to be *Esclave de sa parole*, a *Slave to his Word*.

We are not to seek for Instances, how he, and his Disciples have practis'd accordingly to this very Day; let us look back as far as that grand Treaty, betwixt *France* and *Spain*, call'd the *Pyrranean Treaty*, the Occasion whereof was this; by the Mediation of the Queen Mother of *France*, a Peace was on Foot, betwixt that Crown, and *Spain*, with a Proposition of a Marriage between the King her Son, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, the ends of it were alledg'd to be.

A Desire to give Ease and Quiet to their Subjects.

To put a Period to the many mischievous Consequences of the War.

To forget and extinguish all the Causes and Motives of the Wars past, and to establish a sincere, entire, and durable Peace betwixt them, and their Successors, for the time to come.

The Treaty being begun, it was grounded upon two principal Particulars; and unless the *French* would grant those, the *Spaniard* was resolv'd not to proceed in it: The one was, *that the French should forsake their Adherence to Portugal*, the other, that the *Infanta* should, upon the Marriage, make a *Renunciation* (confirm'd and ratify'd by the *French King*) of all her Pretences, Titles and Claims whatsoever to the *Spanish Monarchy*, and all the Dominions thereof, or to

to any Part of the same, and the Reason of it in the Draught of the Treaty is set down in these Words,

‘ Lest the Glory of their respective Kingdoms
‘ should happen to decay, and be diminish’d, if,
‘ through the said Marriage, they should come
‘ to be united and conjoin’d in any of their Chil-
‘ dren or Posterity, which might occasion to
‘ the Subjects such Troubles, and Afflictions, as
‘ may easily be imagin’d.

Next; as to the Exclusion and Abandoning of *Portugal*, the *French* King oblig’d himself to it in these Words.

‘ His said Majesty of *France* will intermeddle
‘ no further in the said Business, and doth pro-
‘ mise and oblige himself, upon his Honour, and
‘ upon his Faith, and Word of a King, both for
‘ himself, and his Successors, not to give to any
‘ Person, or Persons, of what Dignity, Estate,
‘ or Condition whatsoever, either at present, or
‘ for the future, any Help, or Assistance, neither
‘ publick, nor private, directly nor indirectly,
‘ of Men, Arms, Munitions, Victualling, Vessels,
‘ nor Money under any Pretence, nor any other
‘ thing whatsoever, by Land, or by Sea, nor in
‘ any other manner; as likewise not to suffer
‘ any Levies to be made in any part of his King-
‘ doms, and Dominions, nor to grant a Passage
‘ to any that might come from other Countries
‘ to the Relief of the said Kingdom of *Por-
‘ tugal*.

Now, can any imagine, more cautious, and efficacious Words in a Treaty, to prevent a further Assistance from *France* to *Portugal*, which was the main Thing that the *Spaniard* sought for by the Marriage; yet, as soon as the Treaty was penn’d, and before the Instrument was sign’d,

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the most Eminent *Mazerine* sent privately the Marquis of *Chenes* into *Portugal*, to assure the *Portuguese*, that, notwithstanding he could not avoid the putting such Words in the Treaty, in order to the Conclusion of it, as did engage *France* not to assist them; however, they might rest assur'd, his Master would never forsake them, but would continue to them his Assistance as much as before the Treaty was made.

For the more full clearing of this Matter viz. That an abandoning of *Portugal* was one of the essential Foundations of that Peace, and that otherwise it could never have been treated of, nor concluded; we are to remember that in the IX. Article of the said Treaty, there are these Words. ' Forasmuch as we have foreseen, and ' apprehended, that such an Engagement might ' have been an Obstacle not to be surmounted, ' in the Concluding of this Peace, and by Con- ' sequence would have reduc'd the two Kings ' to a Necessity of perpetuating the War, &c.

And a little after, in the same Article, it is further express'd thus. ' Finally, in Contem- ' plation of the Peace, and seeing the absolute ' Necessity, wherein his most Christian Majesty ' finds himself, either to perpetrate the War by ' a Rupture of the present Treaty, which he ' perceives to be inevitable, in Case he should ' have persisted to obtain from his Catholick ' Majesty in this Affair, other Conditions, than ' those which he had offer'd, &c.

Moreover by the said Article it is evident, That whereas, the *French* King offer'd then to the King of *Spain*, to make Restitution of all the Places, which *France* had gotten from him by Arms during the War, rather than he would have been by Treaty oblig'd to forbear a further assisting
the

the *Portuguese*, the *Spaniard* utterly refus'd this Offer, as is apparent by other Words of the same Article, as they follow.

‘ Offering besides the Places which are to be
‘ restor'd unto his Catholick Majesty by the pre-
‘ sent Treaty, to render unto him also all the
‘ other Conquests in general, which his said Arms
‘ have made in the War, and intirely restore the
‘ Prince of *Conde*; provided and upon Condi-
‘ tion, that the Affairs of the Kingdom of *Portu-
‘ gal* should remain in the State in which at pre-
‘ sent they are.

‘Tis likewise out of Controversy, that this Abandoning of *Portugal*, was covenanted and promis'd by *France* so authentically, and in such clear and special Terms, that it is not to be question'd, nor be made subject to any Interpretations, contrary to the true Sense, and Intention of the Parties contracting; the Terms whereof are these.

‘ His said Majesty shall meddle no more with
‘ the said Affair; and doth promise, and oblige
‘ himself upon his Honour, and in the Faith and
‘ Word of a King, for himself, and his Succes-
‘ sors, not to give unto the aforementioned King-
‘ dom of *Portugal*, either in general, or to any
‘ Person or Persons of it in particular, of what
‘ Dignity, State, or Condition soever they may
‘ be, either for the present, nor hereafter, any
‘ Aid or Assistance, publick, or secret, direct-
‘ ly or indirectly of Men, Arms, Ammuni-
‘ tions, Victuals, Ships, or Moneys under any
‘ Pretext, nor of any other Thing, that is, or
‘ can be, by Land, or by Sea, nor in any other
‘ Fashion; as likewise, not to permit, that any
‘ Levies shall be made in any of his most Chri-
‘ stian Majesty's Kingdoms, and Estates, nor
‘ grant

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‘ grant free Passage to those, which may come
‘ out of other Countries, to the Help of the afore-
‘ said Realm of *Portugal*.

Nevertheless 'tis evident, that they immediately fail'd in every Point and Circumstance of this Promise, insomuch, that in the very Time of the publick making of the said Treaty, they were privately tampering with the *Portuguese*, and gave them underhand Assurances (as I have mention'd before) so that, at the concluding of it, the Bonfires, which were kindled for Joy of the Peace, were not quite extinguish'd, when an evident Breach of the Treaty was observ'd, in the *French* sending Auxiliary Forces into *Portugal*, under the Name of *Marshal Tureine*, divers Troops were rais'd, and convey'd into *Portugal*, with Arms, and Ammunition, as if *Tureine* durst have presum'd to do such a Thing without the Privy, and Consent of the Prime Ministers; and when the *Spaniard*, by his Ambassador, complain'd of this, they deluded him, by issuing forth publick Orders to the Governors of their Ports, that no Soldiers, or Arms, &c. should be suffer'd to embarque for *Portugal*. But those Governors better understood their private Lesson, and so let them pass by Connivance. But at length they began to act openly, and, notwithstanding the Treaty, they had made with *Spain*, they entered into an Offensive League with *Portugal* against all its Enemies, in which the *French* had so well provided themselves, that, by Agreement, they were to have all the Towns deliver'd to them, which should be taken from the *Spaniards*.

The Truth of these Things was not only manifest in fact, but it was also testify'd by Letters,
which

which the Ministers of *Spain* had intercepted, that after the Peace made betwixt the two Crowns, the Court of *France* had fomented the War of the *Portuguese*, hinder'd them from accepting those advantageous Conditions, which *Spain* had offer'd them; animating them by the Hope of mighty Succours, not only for their Defence, but also for carrying an *offensive* War into the very Heart of *Spain*. Among these Letters, were many of such, as had been written by the *French* Minister Monsieur *De Lyonne*, and the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, to Monsieur *De Schomberg*, which prov'd the continual Correspondence, that was betwixt them for the Direction and Carrying on that War; 'tis known that in 1672 the Duke of *Beaufort*, came with his whole Fleet upon the Coasts of *Portugal*, where he spent a Part of the Summer, to secure a Passage of Victuals and Ammunition, whereof the *Portuguese* were in extream Want; and this at the same time, when they were offering *Spain* their Mediation to make an Accommodation with *Portugal*: Not to omit, how one of the prime *French* Ministers, Monsieur *Colebart*, privately made several Voyages thither, to encourage them, and contract a more strict Alliance with them, and to open a Way for the bringing about a League offensive; which in some time after was concluded with the *Portuguese*; with these following Conditions; ' That
 ' they shall be the Friends of their Friends, and
 ' the Enemies of their Enemies; excepting
 ' *England*; that *France* shall furnish them with
 ' as many Men, as they need, to carry on an
 ' offensive War in *Spain*, both by Sea and Land,
 ' shall advance to them, by way of Loan, the
 ' half of their Pay for the Entertainments of
 ' auxiliary Troops, and that they shall furnish
 ' them

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‘ them every Year, under the same Title of Loan,
‘ with the Sum of three hundred thousand
‘ Crowns; that all the Ports, which they shall
‘ take in *Spain*, either upon the one, or the other
‘ Sea, shall be put into the Power of *France*;
‘ that they shall not treat either of Peace or
‘ Truce, without common Consent; and that
‘ this League shall last for the Space of ten
‘ Years.

By these particulars, it is apparent, how little Credit is to be given to *France*; in the most solemn Engagements that she can make to any Prince, about any matter whatsoever; for that a Treaty manag’d, in order to a Marriage between Princes, which is one of the most solemn Subjects that can be handled amongst Men, and confirm’d by Oath, with the most sacred Mysteries of their Religion at the high Altar, for a punctual Observation, should be thus palpably broken, is not to be parallel’d by any Instance or Example in all the World besides.

But ’tis not in this Business of *Portugal* alone that a Breach was made: That which is more considerable is, that as soon as the *French* saw Opportunity, after the Death of the King of *Spain*, they started up a Claim for their King, in the Right and Behalf of his Wife, the *Infanta*, notwithstanding her solemn *Renunciation* formerly mention’d, which was enter’d into the Body of the Treaty, and as sacredly sworn to; pretending that a great Part of the *Spanish Low Countries* was devolv’d to him in her Right, by the *Municipal Laws of those Countries*. Whereas it’s known, that, when Princes enter into a Treaty, it is regulated and confirm’d according to *Law of Nations* common to all, and, being so to be understood, it is ridiculous

culous among *Civilians*, to imagine that a Consideration of *Laws Municipale*, or Customs, belonging to any particular Country under the Dominions of either of the Treating Princes, can intervene, or be admitted afterwards, to the overthrowing of the Treaty, or the depriving either of the Parties of the Benefit and Security which he hath thereby. This is a Thing not to be nam'd among Statesmen, for, without the *Renunciation*, the Treaty had never been agreed on; and it was so carefully penn'd, as if a Grand Council of Civil Lawyers had been call'd to out-doe all former Expressions us'd in such Contracts, and to find out new *binding* Clauses, to take off all possibility of Evasion; and yet, (against the very Sense, and End of that *Renunciation*) the *French* (as all Men know) under this so slight Pretence of a Claim, fell foul on a sudden upon *Flanders*, and other Parts with their Army, which was their *first Invasion* upon those Countries after that Treaty.

But 'tis further observable, that this Invasion, so contrary to the *French* Engagements, and so destructive of the very Essence of the aforesaid *Pyrenean Treaty*, was attended with some Circumstances, no less surprizing, than the Breach it self. The one was, that which pass'd at *Paris*, between the Marquis *De la Fuente*, Ambassador Extraordinary of *Spain*, and the *French King*; and the other was what the Archbishop of *Ambrun*, Ambassador of *France* at the Court of *Spain*, declar'd there in his Master's Name.

As to the first, *Fuente*, having receiv'd a Call home to *Spain*, and being jealous that the great Preparations then made in *France* were intended against the *Spanish* Dominions, he thought fit to press the *French King* to give his Mistress the

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Queen Regent of Spain some new Assurances, that might quiet and settle her Mind, against the many strange Reports of his intended Preparations. Thereupon the King of *France* did, with all possible Asseveration, engage his *Royal Word* and Faith, that he would religiously keep the Peace, and continue an entire Amity to her, and the young King her Son.

As to the second; not long after the *French Army* took the Field, and had possess'd it self of *Charleroy*; about four or five Days before the News could arrive at *Madrid*, and the said Archbishop of *Ambrun* being expostulated with about it, did *in verbo Sacerdotis*, and upon all that is most sacred among *Roman Catholicks*, protest and vow to the *Queen Regent*, that his Master intended nothing less, than what was reported of him; and that he knew he would never break with the King of *Spain*, nor invade any of his Dominions, as long as he was under Age.

Sic sævis inter se convenit Ur sis.

Oh, how well do the *French Ministers* and their Ambassadors agree with one another, to effect their Master's Business, and their own! for it was not many Days after the preceding Assurances, that this News was brought to the *Spanish Court*, how fairly the *French* had kept their Word; how they had likewise entred, and acted all Manner of Hostilities upon *Flanders*; had fir'd many considerable Towns, and wasting the Country; proceeded so outrageously, and so far, that *England*, and the neighbouring Princes took the Alarm, and expostulated the Matter with *France*; which brought on another Treaty, that was held at *Aken*, i. e. *Aix la Chapelle*, to make a new Agree-

Agreement, betwixt *France* and *Spain*; the Observation whereof has afforded us another Instance of the *French* Fidelity.

Unto this *Treaty*, most of the Princes of *Chri-stendom* were invited, to take care of the common Security, and among the rest his Majesty of *England*, who sent a Minister to the Protestant Princes of *Germany* to invite them into the Guaranty of the said *Treaty* of *Aix*. Proposals were likewise made to the Duke of *Lorain*, and several other Princes, to come into the League, then to be made; to which the *Lorainer* immediately accorded, hoping, that, by this *Treaty*, he might have better luck with the *French*, than he formerly had with them by the *Pyrenean Treaty*.

But before we proceed, it will not be amiss to remember you, how the *French* kept Faith with this poor Prince, whose Interests had been provided for by the said *Treaty*, as well as those of *Spain*; and his Dutchy to be restor'd to him, with all the Places, and Towns, which he had been possess'd of within the Bishopricks of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun*. But observe how *France* dealt with him; they deferr'd, as long as they could, the Performance of that part, which related to the said Duke, and refus'd still to return him his Country, 'till they had brought him to make another *Treaty* with them in prejudice of the former; whereby he was forc'd to part with several considerable Places, over and above what had been granted to them by the *general Peace*. And yet this would not serve their Turn, for, after the oppress'd Duke had enjoy'd his Dominions a Year and a half, but in a very unsettled Possession, (for as much as during that Time, under several artificial Pretences, new Quarrels were

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pickt every Day) they, with a considerable Army, constrain'd him to give them his Town of *Marfal*.

Moreover, it was but a little Time after this, that they began to teaze him again, compelling him to sign a new Treaty more disadvantageous to him, than the two former ; (so insatiable is their Appetite after *Dominion*) so that the unhappy *Duke*, could, as little as before, obtain a quiet Enjoyment of that little they had left him ; for every Day they encroach'd upon the Limits of his Territories, and his Sovereignty it self. They impos'd grievous Taxes upon his Subjects ; they caus'd him to disband his Forces, and to raise new Men again, as they thought fit. They kept him from revenging his own Quarrels, and made him take part in others ; they let loose all his Enemies against him, and stopp'd the Progress of his Arms, as soon as he had got the least Advantage ; and, in a Word, he was at that Time more a Vassal to *France*, than a Sovereign in his own Country. But yet all this would not satisfy the *French Court* ; and therefore the *Duke*, by many Circumstances shewing how ill he brook'd this kind of unreasonable Usage, they order'd one of their Generals to surprise and seize his Person, and to bring him, either dead or alive : Of which intended Violence, having had timely Notice, he escap'd, when it was very near being effected. ' This, it must be acknowledg'd, is a
' new way of dealing with a Sovereign Prince,
' not known before in these Parts of the World ;
' and may teach all other Princes what they are
' to trust to, in Treating with, and what to expect from such monstrous Neighbours.

This one Thing is enough to give us an Insight into the Ambition and Pride, whereby we may discover

discover the Intent and Design of *France*: Since none but an *Universal Monarch* can pretend to an Arbitrary Displacing of *Princes*, and a Disposing of their Liberty, Lives, and Territories. Thus you see, how perfidiously they dealt with the *Duke of Lorain*.

But to return to the *Treaty of Aix*. It prov'd to be of little Service to the *Duke*, for they afterwards seiz'd his Country, and drove him out to seek his Fortune, and this (as Men say) for no other Reason, but because he hop'd by this Treaty to have confirm'd himself among his Allies in a better State, and Security, than he had hitherto done.

As for the Court of *Spain*, the *French* also resolv'd to defeat their Expectation of Benefit for this Treaty. For, contrary to it, they presently fell to work; first they dismantled all the strong Places and Holds of the Country of *Burgundy*; carry'd away all the Munitions out of it; and would have spoil'd the rich Salt-pits of that Province, had not the powerful Indisposition, both of *England* and *Holland* prevented them.

In despite likewise of that Treaty, they exacted great Contributions from the Dutchies of *Limburg*, and *Luxemburg*; they laid a new Claim to some Towns, as important as any of those that were granted to them by the Peace. They confiscated the Estates of the Subjects of the King of *Spain*, that would not forswear the Allegiance, and spar'd not the very Royal House of *Mary Mont*: Nay, as if these Infractions were not enough, and still to encroach, as far as they were able, they forc'd their way (with great Quantities of Merchandize) through the *Spanish Territories*, without paying the Customs, and not long after endeavour'd to surprize the Town of *Hainault*.

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Hainault. In a Word, they did whatever they pleas'd, plunder'd even the most sacred Places, and acted whatever can be imagin'd to be done, without remorse, by insolent, and unconscionable Men. But to proceed,

It must not be forgotten, how, under the Pretence of advancing the Affairs of *Poland*, and settling an Amity there, they contriv'd a Marriage for that King, with a Lady of *France*; by which means, they were enabled to send thither along with her, in her Train, so many expert Instruments of Mischief, that immediately they settled a *Cabal* with such Intrigues, as in a short time inflam'd the Nobility of that Kingdom into Heats and Factions, against one another, which are never likely to be extinguish'd; and at that time they operated so far, that *that* King soon became willing to quit the Kingdom, and thereupon the *Turk*, seeing the great Divisions that were wrought among them, was easily invited in by the *French Cabal*, partly because they could not bring in a King, that was of *French Blood*, or of *French Interest*, at the following Election, and partly, because the new King of *Poland* had contracted a Marriage with the *Emperor's* Sister.

It is worth while also to remember, how finely they us'd the Duke of *Newburg* while they prevail'd with him to engage the greatest Part of his Estate (almost beyond Redemption) in hopes of getting the *Polish* Crown, which they had promis'd to procure for him, by the Help of a strong Party, which they had made in that Kingdom. Yet underhand, and contrary to their Treaties, as well with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, as with himself, and to their repeated Promises, and Vows, both by Word of Mouth, and
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in Writing, they did, by their Creatures, and Agents, oppose the said Duke's Pretensions, and endeavour'd with all Industry to have gotten the Prince of *Conde* preferr'd before all his Competitors: A particular Account whereof, would (if publish'd) without any other Instance, be a sufficient Warning to all other Princes, and afford them a perfect Character of the *French* Court.

But it's remarkable, that it is not with Princes alone, that they thus finely deal; but that they observe just the same Measure of Faith, towards such Rebels and Traytors of their making, as they gain for Money, to betray the Concerns of their own Country, by serving the Intrigues and Interests of *France*. For, when after the Beginning of this War, they saw the *Emperor* setting himself in good earnest to assist the *Dutch*, then to dissuade and divert him from his Purpose, and to engage him (if it had been possible) not to concern himself, or take part in the Quarrel; they very fairly offer'd to deliver into his Hands all the original Letters, and Papers, they had receiv'd from time to time from their brib'd Friends, and Creatures in *Poland*; to the end that both his *Imperial Majesty*, and his Brother-in-Law the King of *Poland*, might take what Course, they thought fit with those Traytors. Which Story may serve as a fair Warning, and be a Terror to all those, who prefer Money before their Loyalty, and the true Interests of their Country. And truly this piece of Infidelity in the *French* is the only Instance of Justice, that I find them guilty of, in the Management of Affairs, with their Friends and Correspondents.

But

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But withal I find, that this Kindness of theirs to his *Imperial Majesty*, was to make him Amends for another piece of Treachery, that they had play'd him a-while before. For the *most Christian Ministers*, pretending a Courtesy to assist him against the *Turk*, and accordingly having sent Forces to join with the *Imperial Army*; they, at the very same Time, began to settle a Correspondence with Count *Serini*, *Frachipam*, *Madasti*, and *Tottenbach*, as did afterwards appear upon the breaking out of the Conspiracy, when the Depositions, and Confessions of some of the Accomplices were produc'd, who had been Instrumental in carrying both Money, and Letters from the *French Minister Resident at Vienna* to the said Conspirators.

In the next place let us turn our Eyes to the *Swedes*, and examine whether they, having been many Years very good Friends and humble Servants to the *French*, have had better luck in treating with them, than others. For surely *Sweden* cannot forget, that, at a certain Time, when they had occasion to make a Treaty with them, whereby they were to receive, by way of Gratuity or Pension, sixteen hundred thousand Crowns, upon second Thoughts, the *French*, finding their Treaty with *Sweden* to be but of little Use to them at that Time, refus'd to ratify it, and sent Monsieur *de Trelon* their Ambassador to them, to tell them in short, that the King his Master declar'd it to be void: Which is a fine Court-stile, for one Prince to use to another in Treating, and a tart, short, majestick Way of rescinding Treaties.

It were both needless and tedious to tell how well they have observ'd their Treaties with *Holland*, seeing they could not so much as assign the least

least Cause of the War, they then made against them; for as much as in their Declaration, they told us only of a *Mauvaise Satisfaction*, that they were ill pleas'd, and that it would tend to a Diminution of the Glory of the *Most Christian King*, unless, to please himself, he put all *Europe* in a Flame, and endeavour'd to bring all under his Subjection.

It is pleasant to observe how they practis'd their Art also upon that notable Fox, the Bishop of *Munster*; how they not only deceiv'd him, during his Contest with the *United Provinces*, but sent their Troops against him, and endanger'd the Loss of his Country; how they, another time, induc'd him to deceive us in *England*, by reducing him to a Necessity of seperating from our Interest, after he had receiv'd Assistance from us in a good Sum of Money; how they hinder'd the *Swedes* from Arming in our favour, and drew *Denmark* from our Party, during our War with the *Dutch*, even at the same Time, when they seem'd to forward and favour us against *Holland*; and how they instigated the *Dutch* to put that Affront upon us, in endeavouring to destroy our Ships within our own Ports, thereby presuming that so severe an Exasperation would necessarily follow in our Minds against *Holland*, as would render us irreconcilable to them, and engage us in a War so long, 'till we should waste, and wear out one another's Men, and Shipping, and so at last be the less able to oppose *France*, which, at that time, was meditating and forming such a mighty Advance of her own Naval Power, as might enable her to contend against us both, when we should see it our Interest to unite against her hereafter.

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And the Truth is, the *French Ministers* did herein act according to a right Understanding of their own Business: For they did, and do very well know, that, in order to the main End of grasping all, they ought to dread nothing more than a durable, and firm Friendship between us, and the *United Provinces*, as the only thing, that can set Bounds to their Ambition, and redeem *Europe* from that *Yoke*, which they were framing, and devising how to put about our Necks. It was therefore dextrously done of them, to find out a fine Artifice of Treachery to delude us both, and to spin out that War. For, in the very Heat of the War, they kept Negotiations still on Foot, both in *England* and at the *Hague*; put on a Disguise of *Mediation*, pretending to make us Friends, and to that Purpose made Offers, and Proposals of Peace. It might be told, who were said to be Instruments on both Sides, to carry this Project of Delusion so far, that we in *England* were assur'd by the *French*, that the *Dutch* were so well inclin'd to Peace, that, for that time, they meant to lay up their Men of War; but then afterwards, the *French* underhand press'd the said *Dutch* with all Vigor, and Earnestness imaginable to fit out their Fleet again, promising withal, that rather than fail they would join theirs to them against us. It was upon a Supposal, the *French* were true to us at that time, in Carrying on their pretended Proposals of Peace, that we were made secure; slacken'd our Preparations that Year, and so a Surprise follow'd upon it. For the *Dutch* taking the Advantage of our Neglect, put to Sea, and before we could get in Readiness to receive them, enter'd our River as high as *Chatham*. Thus was our Disgrace brought about, as Report
went

went in those Days : However admit it should not be true, that the *French* were the Authors of that Counsel, yet it is unquestionable, that they knew of the Design, e're the Attempt was made. It was their Pretence of bringing about a Peace that render'd us secure, when indeed we had no Security but in a War, or in a Peace of our own making : Which may sufficiently instruct us, at our own Cost, what Security is to be expected from *French Amity and Treaty*.

It was not long after, that we began to see the Convenience of Peace, insomuch that a *Treaty* was concluded at *Breda* : And whereas one Article was, that the *French* should restore unto us *St. Christophers*, in the Manner and Form therein express'd ; they nevertheless began again to abuse us, and instead of performing it according to the very Letter, and true Meaning of the Article, they still, from time to time, upon several unjust and frivolous Pretences, put off his Majesty's *Coumissioners*, that went to receive it ; 'till seeing a Necessity to comply with us in so small a matter, they, after four Years Baffling, were pleas'd to deliver it. But 'tis to be noted, that before the Delivery of it, they destroy'd all the Plantations, plunder'd and carry'd away all that was portable, laid the whole Country waste, and left it in a worse Condition, than if it had been never planted, and, as if the Detaining of his Majesty's Territories had not been sufficient, they interrupted the Trade of his Majesty's Subjects in those Parts ; and, assuming to themselves a Sovereignty in those Seas, would not suffer any Ships, but those of their own Nation to sail by, or about their Islands. Nay they even proceeded so far, as to

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carry in many of our Vessels as Prizes, and confiscate them.

But it is not in the *West India* Trade only, that we have been thus us'd, since they have been many Years, and still are, diminishing our Trade here at home. They design upon our *Cloth Trade*, and many of our useful Manufactures, tempting away by Money the Makers to go, and settle in *France*, and by them have got their own People to be instructed in the making of them; And, in the mean while, to advance, and encourage their own Manufactures, and cause ours to lye upon our Hands, they lay heavy *Impositions* upon all *English* Cloth, and Stuffs, that are, or shall be imported into *France*; which is the ready Way to ruine many of our Merchants, and most of our Manufactures, and undo thousands of poor People, who depend upon them for their daily Subsistence. No wonder then if it should be observ'd, that we do not of late send into *France* the fourth or fifth Part of what Goods, or Commodities, we formerly sent over; nay I have heard that Monsieur *Colbert*, who was then one of their principal Ministers, was consulting with Merchants and others how to give our Trade a farther Diminution, while we (such is the Fondness of our Nation) are bewitch'd with an Affection of *French* Commodities, tho' but meer *Baubles*, and *Gewgaws*, even tho' our own Workmen are more skilful, and out-do them in the making what is of their own Invention, yet (such is our base folly) unless the Retailers of them do swear and lye too, that they are of *French* Make, there is no putting them off to Advantage at a quick Rate: Notwithstanding all this however we are fond of having none but *French* about us; their Behaviour,
their

their Fashions, their Garb, their mean Way of House-Keeping (to the utter Extinction of the noble Way of old *English* Hospitality) their needy Men for Servants, their meer dietary Leeches, or scholastick Methodists (no better than most of our own) for Physicians, their Tooth-Drawers and Barbers, that had not Merit enough to earn their Bread at home, for our admir'd Surgeons. *French* Musick, *French* Dancing-Masters, a *French* Air in our very Countenances, *French* Complements, *French* Grimaces (pardon me, if thus far, in Zeal to my own Country, and Indignation to them, I a little Digress) Any thing that speaks *French*, is our Delight; and such is the Witchcraft also upon the other Nations of *Europe*, that, having made the *French* Language and Humours universal, I cannot but look on it as a sad Omen of universal Slavery; for as much as both *Divines* and *Politicians* have, by the Course of God's Providence, and Revolutions past in the World, observ'd, that one Nation's taking its Language from another, and preferring it before their own, hath usually been a Fore-runner of, and prepar'd the Way for its Conquest. No marvel then, that the *French* are carry'd on, and elevated with the Ambition and Belief of Conquering all, when they see all so fondly doting on their more effeminate Language, Fashions, and People. Its high time therefore that we return to our old *English* Spirit and Humour, which naturally is more Grave, Manly, and Martial, and by its *native* couragious Temper, sufficiently enabled (as of old) to allay their Heat, and cure them of their artful Conduct and and pretensive Valour.

But

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But (to return where I left off) there's much more Fear of their pretended Friendship, and certain Falshood, than of any Thing else they can do, notwithstanding all their Numbers, as may be collected out of the memorable Stories of *Cressy* and *Agincourt*, of which last, they have in their Chronicle left this dismal Note; *La Mauvaise Journei d'Agincourt*; so that it behoves us to have an Eye to their Treachery, Treaties and Peace, more dangerous than War, or any hostile Attempts, they can make upon us.

If those particulars (which we have hitherto mention'd) be not enough to paint them out in their true Colours, let us next call to mind, how falsely they dealt with us in the last *Dutch War*. Under Pretence, and Appearance of a hearty Conjunction with us in the Undertaking it self, they made us to believe they would be *principal* in the War, and be content that our Forces should second them only as *Auxiliaries*; but as soon as they thought they had engag'd us so far in the Business, that we could not well go back, nor take new Counsels, they, in all Princes Court, declar'd, that it was not their Quarrel, and that they were engag'd in it only to assist us, which was a *friendly* Manner to render us as liable, as they could, to the Displeasure of other Princes, that dislik'd the War, and to excuse themselves, though they had been the chief Contrivers and Fomenters of it.

In the next Place we cannot omit to remind our Reader, how strangely they behav'd towards us at Sea, when they should have assisted us in the Battle, that was fought under the Conduct of his most illustrious Highness Prince *Rupert*; when, by reason of their standing at a Distance in the very Heat and Stress of the Engagement,
and

and never coming to assist him, they did sufficiently manifest, that their Squadron of Ships was sent only to be Spectators to learn to fight, or for other Ends, rather than to act in it. And truly his Highness, that Day, gave them an Heroick Example of Skill and Courage, when he was set upon by two of the *Dutch* Squadrons together; one of which, the *Admiral* of the *French* Squadron ought to have engag'd according to Orders, which his *Highness* had sent to him the Day before: But he, not coming in (tho' the Wind all the Day stood fair for him) his *Highness* was left alone to bear the Brunt of the Engagement with two of the Enemies Squadrons at once. And tho' his Ship was surrounded on all Sides, yet he so nobly acquitted himself that he not only made his own Way out of that great Distress, but giving a couragious Example to the rest of his Squadron, went with them, and assisted the other Squadron of ours, which was engag'd against Vice Admiral *Tromp* at a great Distance, in a separate Fight, contrary to his *Highness's* Orders.

It should be remember'd likewise, that as he made up to their Assistance, his Squadron by the Way still fought the *Dutch*, which kept side by side with our Ships at some Distance, all the while both Squadrons firing at one another. The Design of the *Dutch* in doing this was to hinder the *Prince* from giving the Assistance he intended; which being nevertheless effected by his *Highness*, and the *Dutch Admirals* perceiving that they could not prevent it, and that their Ships were considerably damag'd, made sail away for their own Coasts. But had the *French Squadron* under the Command of the Count *D'Estrees* done their Duty, and come into second the *Prince* any Hour of the Day, as they

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they easily might have done (the Wind standing fair as we said before) it is evident that we might have had, at that Time, one of the most glorious and compleat Victories, that ever was obtain'd by Sea. This was afterwards acknowledg'd, and attested by Monsieur *Martell*, the Count *d'Estrees* own Vice Admiral; who, like an honest Man, attempted to have come in with a few of his Ships but could not, and afterwards, because he was so forward to have fought, and because he blam'd his Admiral, when he return'd to *Paris*, he was call'd to an Account, and committed to Prison; whereas the Count, having follow'd the *private Instructions* of the *French Ministers*, was continu'd in Honour and Command.

From all which Circumstances it plainly appears, that he had *privy Orders* and Instructions only to stand and look on, while we, and the *Dutch*, should be tearing and destroying one another; because otherwise (in order to vindicate the Honour of *France*, and its *Ministers*) they would doubtless have made him answer for that egregious Piece of Treachery with the Price of his Head.

I intend as much Brevity as may be, and therefore have forbore to touch upon all the *Circumstances* of this Affair; but thus much is absolutely necessary to give the Reader a Proof of the *French* Good-will and Faithfulness to *England*, as well as to all other Nations, that have had, or shall have, any Dealings with them.

In the next Place we are to consider, how they dealt with us, in order to put an End to this War; which, as we had enter'd into jointly with the *French*, nothing doubtless shou'd have been attempted by either Power, in order to end it, but what wou'd carry a fair Respect

pect to the Interest of both Parties in Conjunction; but see how they play'd their Parts with us in this Affair likewise.

The *States General* of the *United Provinces*, having nominated several Deputies to be sent, some to his Majesty of *England*, and others to the *French King*, to know of them, upon what Terms they would be willing to agree and come to a Peace; his Majesty (as it was a Virtue innate in his own Royal Temper) intended to deal most justly with the *French King* upon this Occasion; and therefore to avoid giving him any Offence or Jealousy, and being loath to do any Thing in the Affair, without a Communication of Councils, immediately sent him Word, that such *Deputies* were arriv'd at *London*, and would not so much as hear what their Errand was, without the Privy of *France*, supposing that he shou'd have a suitable Return from thence.

But the *French* in the mean Time, were guilty of a quite contrary Behaviour: For no sooner were the other Deputies arriv'd at the *French Court*, but they were presently visited and caress'd by two Secretaries of State, and, without further Delay, it was demanded of them; *first*, if they had full Power from their Masters to treat; and *next*, what Proposals they would make in order to a speedy Peace. The *Deputies* desir'd rather to know, *first*, what Proposals the *French Ministers* would make: Whereupon (to hasten them to a Conclusion of the Work) the *French* told them, they were to understand, that what their Master the King had conquer'd by his Arms in *Holland*, he would not part with, unless they gave him an Equivalent, as well for those Places, as for any others, that he should conquer before the Conclusion of the Treaty.

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This Answer made the Deputies immediately dispatch M. *Degroot*, one of their Members to the *Hague*, who was sent back again with Instructions to *Amexongen*, authorizing him, and his Fellow Deputies, to conclude a Peace with the *French*. He was no sooner arriv'd, but Monsieur *de Louvoy* one of the Prime Ministers of State, made short Work of it, and deliver'd the *Dutch* Deputies a *Project of the Treaty*, or rather the Demands of the King his Master; upon the Grant whereof (as he said) he would be both willing and ready to return to his former Amity with the *States General*, and conclude a firm Peace with them.

This certainly was a very bad Return for the open and generous Dealings of the King of *England*: For we must observe, that though the War was made jointly, and so no doubt, it was not to be ended, without respect had to the Interests of each Party concern'd therein (which was fairly meant, and observ'd by his Majesty on our Part) yet they had so little Regard to us, that they not only propos'd and enter'd upon a Treaty without our Privy, or Consent, but wou'd have concluded it without us, and upon separate Conditions to their own Advantage only, and thereby made their Monarch perfectly sole Master of the *United Provinces*, as if he had conquer'd all by the *Sword*.

For a clearer Understanding of their Intents, it ought to be observ'd likewise, that, the Heer *de Groot*, going the second Time from *Amexongen* to the *Hague* with the Articles of the *separate Treaty*; when he arriv'd there, the *States* finding that there was nothing in them concerning *England* he acquainted them, that the *French Ministers* had told him the *States* his Masters
were

were to deal, as they pleas'd, with *England* and make an End of the War as cheap as they could; because (as they pretended) they were not bound by Treaty, to procure the *English* any Advantages. And thus no more Notice was taken of his *Britannick* Majesty, nor greater care of his Interests, than if he had never been concern'd in the War, or in any *League* at all with the *French*; insomuch, that, if by wonderful Providence this *separate Treaty* had not been broken off, *Europe* might have been in greater Hazard of its Liberty, and we of our Safety, by a settled Sway and Dominion of the *French* in the *United Provinces*.

Much more might be added, to shew the foul Play of the *French* with us, at that time, and afterwards, when the Duke of *Buckingham*, and Lord *Arlington* were sent hence into *Holland*: But this, I think, is enough to discover their friendly Behaviour, during that joint War, *Anno Dom.* 1673. since which Period of Time, we shall now proceed to consider in what manner they have dealt with us.

The Amity indeed was continu'd, but still that Nation never ceas'd to do us one Injury or other, and no sufficient Redress hath ever been obtain'd, tho' Complaints were made, and Reparation earnestly sought for, as is plain and evident from the many Affronts and Violences done to us upon our Merchants Ships at Sea by the *French Privateers*; since but very few of them were restor'd, and in which the Owners found the Remedy worse than the Disease, because the tedious Delay, brought such Charge upon them, that the Benefit accrewing from the Restitution would not countervail their Expences in Attendance at the Court of *France*.

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For the Clearing of this Matter, it cannot be amiss to give the Reader here at large an Account touching the Event of such Applications, as were made to his Majesty for Redress at the Council-Board at *Whitehall*, and to the Committee of Trade, belonging to his most honourable *Privy Council*.



At the Court at *Whitehall* the
4th of *August*, 1676.

‘ *Present the Kings most excellent Majesty*
‘ *in Council, the Right Honourable the*
‘ *Lords of the Committee of Trade did*
‘ *this Day present unto his Majesty in*
‘ *Council, a Report touching the Injuries*
‘ *which his Subjects did sustain by French*
‘ *Capers in the Words following.*

May it please your Majesty,

‘ **T**Here was presented unto your Majesty
‘ in Council on the 31st Day of *May*
‘ last a Petition in the Name of all the Mer-
‘ chants of *London*, and other Places, concern’d
‘ in the several Ships taken by the *French Pri-*
‘ *vateers,*

‘ *vateers*, and carry’d into several Ports of that
‘ Kingdom, and their Complaints consisted of
‘ the Points following.

‘ *First*, That the Ships, and Goods of your
‘ Majesty’s Subjects, though mann’d according
‘ to the Act of Navigation, and furnish’d with
‘ all necessary Passes, were daily seiz’d, carry’d
‘ into *Dunkirk*, *Calais*, *Sherbrook*, and other
‘ Ports; the Masters and Mariners, kept close
‘ Prisoners to force them by Hardships to abuse
‘ the Owners, or else for Relief of their own
‘ Necessities (being commonly stripp’d and plunder’d) to enter into the *Privateer’s* Service,
‘ which great Numbers have done with very pernicious Effects.

‘ *Secondly*, That the Delay and Charge of prosecuting the Law in *France*, does commonly
‘ make the Owners to become Losers of half the
‘ Value, when ever they are successful.

‘ *Third*, That there is no Reparation, ever
‘ gotten from *Privateers*, for what they plunder
‘ and embezzle, which makes them freely seize
‘ upon all they meet, and perpetually molest
‘ the Navigation of your Subjects.

‘ Wherefore your Petitioners humbly imploring your Majesty’s Protection, and Relief,
‘ your Majesty was thereupon graciously pleas’d,
‘ out of a Sense of your Subjects Sufferings, to
‘ command that some Frigates should sail forth
‘ to clear the Coasts of those *Privateers*, to seize
‘ them, and bring such as had offended to make
‘ Restitution, and your Majesty, did further order, that the Committee of Trade, should well
‘ take Notice of the particular Cases and Complaints depending (that such of them as were
‘ of Weight and Merit might be fitted to receive your most Gracious Recommendation
‘ for

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‘ for Relief) as to survey the whole Number of
‘ Seizures, which have been made on your Sub-
‘ jects, in order to lay before your Majesty what
‘ Hardships have been sustain’d at Sea, and what
‘ Sort of Justice hath been administred in *France*,
‘ with their Opinion of what is fit to advise your
‘ Majesty therein.

‘ In Obedience to which Command, we have
‘ hereunto annex’d a List of such Ships as have
‘ been seiz’d, to the Number of 53; and the
‘ Cases wherein the Owners have repair’d unto
‘ your Majesty either in your Council, or by
‘ your Secretary of State for Relief; which as in
‘ the general it supposes a Justice in such Com-
‘ plaints, so it leaves a Suspicion of great Hard-
‘ ship in the Methods of Address, and the Num-
‘ ber of Captures is no small Proof of the Faci-
‘ lity of Condemnation.

‘ How many other helpless Men, there have
‘ been (besides the said Cases) who have not had
‘ Ability to prosecute, or how many of these
‘ Cases have been favour’d with Redress, we
‘ cannot certainly understand, ’till the Informati-
‘ on we have sought for comes from *Paris*, which
‘ may also enable us to compleat their Circum-
‘ stances of every Case.

‘ But in the mean Time, such of all the In-
‘ stances of Redress, as are come to our Know-
‘ ledge, we have not fail’d in the Margin, to
‘ make mention of them, being in Number
‘ seven.

‘ While we were in the midst of this Prosecu-
‘ tion, Mr. Secretary *Coventry* does on the 6th
‘ Instant present unto the Committee a Paper,
‘ which he receiv’d from the *French Ambassador*
‘ Monsieur *Courtin* relating to those Matters,
‘ and the Contents thereof are as follows.

‘ An

- ‘ An Extract of a Letter from Monsieur Colbert to Monsieur de Pomponne one of the French King’s Secretaries written the 28th of June, 1676.

FOR what concerns the Prizes, it would be a difficult Matter to answer to all the Cases contain’d in Monsieur Courtin’s Letter; what I can say is.

That the Council for Marine Affairs sit every Friday at St. Germain.

That all Privateers and Reclaimers know it.

That Sir Ellis Leighton nominated by the English Ambassador, hath always notice of it, and is present at it.

That not a Week passes, but I give him two or three Audiences, and oftentimes I send for him on Purpose; his Reasons are all reported, read, and examin’d.

As like are all Petitions of Reclaimers, and I shall tell you more, I acquaint him with the Reasons upon which Judgment is given.

In giving Judgment, all Vessels which have any Appearance of being English, are releas’d; and very often, and almost always (although we are satisfy’d, that the Ships are Dutch) they are releas’d, because there is some Appearance of their being English, and every Thing is judg’d favourable for that Nation, and it is true, that all Ships that are taken, are of Dutch built, that they never were in England, that the Documents are for Persons unknown

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known, and which are not oftentimes so much as nam'd, that they carry with them only some Sea Briefs from Waterford, or some other Town in Ireland, or Scotland; that the whole Ship's Company depose, they were sent to Holland, that we have found on Board three or four Vessels, Bills of Accounts, by which it is seen the English took two, three, or four per Cent. for owning of Ships; and although it is impossible to avoid confiscating them, yet these are the Ships, which make such a Noise in England.

‘ In Answer to which Remarks, though it be
 ‘ true, that all Respect imaginable ought to be
 ‘ given to what Ministers of that Consideration
 ‘ do pronounce, yet there being some Difference
 ‘ between them who feel the Smart, and those
 ‘ who feel it not; we shall insist on some Parti-
 ‘ culars, that your Majesty may discern whether
 ‘ your Subjects are fortunate in their Freedom of
 ‘ Trade at Sea, or in the Helps of Justice, when
 ‘ they are seiz’d, as the Report and Information
 ‘ of the Letter will seem to make out: For as it
 ‘ magnifies the Favour which is exercis’d in
 ‘ *France*, the Facility in all Addresses, and the
 ‘ Tenderness to relieve *Englishmen* in all Com-
 ‘ plaints; so we cannot on this Subject, but own
 ‘ to your Majesty the very different Resentments
 ‘ we have thereof: For we understand that when
 ‘ *English* Ships are brought into the Ports of
 ‘ *France*, many of the Mariners complaining of
 ‘ ill Treatment, and some of Torment, their
 ‘ Papers being seiz’d, and their Persons in Re-
 ‘ straint, ’till all Examinations are prepar’d;
 ‘ then are all their Writings, sent up to the Pri-
 ‘ vy Council at *St. Germain*, and their Judg-
 ‘ ment definitively given. Seldom are any of
 ‘ the

‘ the Reasons of Condemnation mention’d in the
 ‘ Decree, and never any Appeal, or Revision
 ‘ admitted of, so it was until the 20th of *June*
 ‘ last, and whether this be the Tendernefs, or
 ‘ the Justice which is mention’d, we do not
 ‘ know, but we are well assur’d, that the Me-
 ‘ thods of your Majesty’s Clemency and Justice
 ‘ on like Occasion have been far otherwise; and
 ‘ we appeal to the present Ambassador, Mon-
 ‘ sieur *Courtin*, if almost in all Cases that he or
 ‘ any of the Ambassadors thought fit to own
 ‘ when his Excellency was here before, and your
 ‘ Majesty in War with *Holland*, seizing many
 ‘ Ships as Prizes, and under great Suspicion
 ‘ claim’d by the *French*, whether it were not very
 ‘ customary to have a short Reference, and a
 ‘ summary Examination of all Papers by the
 ‘ Judge of the Admiralty in his Chamber; and
 ‘ that if any Thing appear’d fair in the Case,
 ‘ whether the Ships were not immediately re-
 ‘ leas’d without Law, Charge, or Delay.

‘ And ’twill not be out of Season, we hope, to
 ‘ annex hereunto, the Copy of an Order of the
 ‘ 22d. of *July*, 1665. sign’d by the then Lords
 ‘ Commissioners of Prizes, where it will appear
 ‘ that eighteen *French* Ships which were laden
 ‘ with Wine and Brandy, being at *Dover*, and
 ‘ detain’d as Prizes, were all eighteen by one Or-
 ‘ der discharg’d without any Law, or even the
 ‘ Ceremony of the Judge’s Examination, being
 ‘ singly on the Credit of the Ambassador’s Word,
 ‘ affirming that they belong’d to the *French*.

‘ As for the Matter of Revisions or Appeals
 ‘ after Sentence in the Court of Admiralty here,
 ‘ we know his Excellency will also remember,
 ‘ that never any Man was deny’d his Liberty
 ‘ therein; but on the contrary, your Majesty

H

‘ gave

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‘ gave a standing Commission for appeals in all
 ‘ Cases of Prizes, and fill’d it with the Lords
 ‘ of your Council only, that every Case might
 ‘ receive a candid as well as unquestionable
 ‘ Determination.

‘ We might also put your Majesty in Mind,
 ‘ that during the whole Term of your League
 ‘ with *France*, whenever any *French* Ships were
 ‘ seiz’d by the *Hollanders*, and afterwards re-
 ‘ taken by his Majesty’s Frigates, such *French*
 ‘ Ships were always restor’d on Demand, no Con-
 ‘ sideration being had of the time they were in
 ‘ Possession of the *Hollander*, whether a Month,
 ‘ two, or three, as sometimes they were; and
 ‘ when the *French* Owners, as it hath happen’d,
 ‘ knew not of such Retaking, but that the Ship
 ‘ was according to Law condemn’d to your Ma-
 ‘ jesty, and sold with other Prizes; yet the
 ‘ Claimer appearing, your Majesty hath order’d
 ‘ the Money and Product of the Ships to be re-
 ‘ stor’d unto him.

‘ Such various Methods of Justice and Cle-
 ‘ mency, might have entitl’d your Majesty to a
 ‘ different Acknowledgment, and more advan-
 ‘ tageous Effects.

‘ As to the other Part of the said Paper, it
 ‘ seems to contain very harsh Imputations in the
 ‘ Trade of your Majesty’s Subjects, and from
 ‘ some ill Practice perhaps found out (as every
 ‘ where there may be Instances of the like.)
 ‘ General Rules are made, and severe Impressions
 ‘ taken, which having enter’d the Thoughts of
 ‘ some eminent Ministers, we must not wonder
 ‘ how frequent, and how multiply’d soever your
 ‘ Majesty’s Recommendations for Justice are,
 ‘ that the Events for Trials prove so unfortu-
 ‘ nate; if your Majesty will but vouchsafe to
 ‘ cast

of the FRENCH COURT. § I

‘ cast your Eye on the Causes here annex’d you
‘ will soon see.

‘ Whether (as it is imputed) all the Ships taken
‘ are *Dutch* Built?

‘ Whether they are all such as never were in
‘ *England*?

‘ Whether all the Masters, and all the Mari-
‘ ners are *Dutch*?

‘ Whether the Documents be for Persons un-
‘ known, and oftentimes not nam’d?

‘ Whether in the whole List, there be more
‘ than one Ship from *Waterford*, and but six from
‘ the rest of all *Ireland*, but from *Scotland* not
‘ so much as one.

‘ Whether it is credible all the Ships Com-
‘ pany do swear they are sent to *Holland*, when
‘ so many are taken, even coming from *Hol-
‘ land*?

‘ Your Majesty may see how many Ships in
‘ the List are *English* Built, taken with *English* Co-
‘ lours, *English* Mariners, *English* Owners, some
‘ of them known to your Majesty, and to whom
‘ the best Papers your Majesty, or your Mini-
‘ sters can sign, or the Treaties do require, are
‘ given but all in vain.

‘ So that if the Case be in the General quite
‘ different from what in the General is repre-
‘ sented, we hope it will be no Crime for your
‘ Majesty’s Subjects to make some Noise in
‘ *England*, when they are hurt, and when they
‘ see their Goods taken from them by Violence;
‘ and that Violence rather justify’d, than redress’d
‘ by Law.

‘ ’Tis not for the Condemnation past on these
‘ very ill Cases enumerated, that your Subjects
‘ do complain, for it were to their Advantage,
‘ if all such were punish’d and deterr’d from

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‘ Trade, who by Collation take share in that
‘ Profit, which the Favour of the present Con-
‘ juncture seems wholly to appropriate to this
‘ Kingdom.

‘ And surely your Majesty and the whole
‘ Kingdom did reckon upon this Advantage, and
‘ the Extent of Trade that would naturally flow,
‘ as one of the greatest Fruits, and Blessings of
‘ your Peace; so that your Majesty being sen-
‘ sible of great Decay and Loss of *English* trading
‘ Ships in the late War, did think it advisable to
‘ admit your Subjects to repair themselves on
‘ the sudden by purchasing of Foreign Ships;
‘ and your Majesty by our Authority made them
‘ free and fit to partake in the Benefit of *English*
‘ Ships, to the Diminution of those higher Cu-
‘ stoms, which otherwise such Ships were oblig’d
‘ to pay, and while your Subjects, with these
‘ and with their own home built Ships, are in
‘ Prosecution of the said Advantages, while
‘ every Man is invited by the Conjunction to
‘ venture more, and to enlarge his Trade, while
‘ by a general Trust in the Peace and Alliance
‘ your Majesty holds with all your Neighbours
‘ round about, they are led to go abroad un-
‘ arm’d and without Defence, we cannot but
‘ lament it as a great Misfortune and Disap-
‘ pointment, to observe how these your Majesty’s
‘ Subjects are frequently made a Prey of, and ve-
‘ ry evily treated both at Sea and Land.

‘ Wherefore considering that the Root of all
‘ these Disorders arises from the Violence and
‘ Rapine of the *French* Capers, who ought to
‘ be look’d on as Disturbers of the publick
‘ Quiet, and Enemies of the good Friendship
‘ between the two Crowns, we are humbly of
‘ Opi-

‘ Opinion, that your Majesty has just Occasion
‘ from the Injuries past, and those which are
‘ now depending, and which do every Day in-
‘ crease, to make a very serious Representation
‘ of all unto his *Most Christian* Majesty; and not
‘ only press for some better Method of repair-
‘ ing the Grievances mention’d, but earnestly to
‘ insist on the Calling in of all *Privateers*, or else
‘ your Majesty must do right, and give Defence
‘ to your Subjects from all the Insolencies which
‘ they so frequently meet. All which is most
‘ humbly submitted.

Council-Chamber 31st. July, 1676.

<i>Anglesey,</i>	<i>Finch. C.</i>
<i>Bath,</i>	<i>Bridgwater,</i>
<i>Craven,</i>	<i>H. Coventry,</i>
<i>J. Ernle,</i>	<i>G. Cartret.</i>

Robert Southwell.

His Majesty taking into his serious Consideration the daily Complaints of his Subjects, and having a great Sense and Resentment of their ill Usage, hath thought fit to approve of the said Report, and is therefore graciously pleas’d to Order and its hereby order’d accordingly.

THAT the Right Hon. Mr. Secretary Coventry do immediately transmit to his Majesty’s Ambassador at Paris, a Copy thereof, that so the evil and unhappy State of these Things may be made known in that Court, and the Remedies press’d
for

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for in his Majesty's Name, which are propos'd by the said Report; and Mr. Secretary is also to attend the French Ambassador here, with the same Representation, and to expostulate upon all these Hardships, and the little Remedy given to his Majesty's Subjects, either on the Merits of their Causes, or the Recommendations of them by his Majesty. That so his Excellency being made sensible of his Majesty's Displeasure herein, and the reasonable Discontent of his Subjects, there may be by his Care such lively Impressions hereof fix'd with the King his Master, and the Ministers of France, as may redress the Evils that are complain'd of, and obtain the just Remedies which are propos'd.

Philip Loyd.

To these Evidences, I might add the List of several Ships belonging to our *English* Merchants, taken by *French Privateers* since *December, 1673.* which was also presented to the Right Hon. the Committee of his Majesty's Privy Council for Trade; and by them to his Majesty, together with the Names of their Owners, and their other Circumstances; but it wou'd be too copious for this Place, and therefore 'tis sufficient for me to shew the Reader only an Account of the Business it self; of the great Care and Pains of the Lords of the Councils Committee for Trade; and of his Majesty's Royal Resentment of the sufferings of his Subjects, and the Abuses put upon *Great Britain*, which may testify, that no Nation under Heaven cou'd have better Reasons to justify a War, than *England* had for the many Dishonours, Affronts and Injuries done us, in return to his Majesty's great Integrity, and fair Carriage, his wise and prudent Administration,

tion, together with the Care and Diligence of his able Ministers.

Nay, that this Unfaithfulness of theirs towards us is ingrafted in their very Nature, which will farther appear, not only from our own but from Accounts given us by other Historians. All the Time that *Scotland* was under a Crown separate from *England*, it was perpetually made use of by *France* (when any Difficulties were upon us) as a *back Door* to enter, disturb, weaken, and attempt us here in *England*; but, since the happy Union of the two Crowns under King *James*, they were at a Loss, all his Reign, how to disturb us by their wonted Way, until they got an Opportunity to plague us by encouraging a boisterous and outrageous Party in *Scotland*, not only to pour in upon us Confusion and Desolation, but as it were, to open *Pandora's Box*, varnish'd over with the Name of the *Holy Discipline*, and fill'd with all the Plagues of *Egypt*, to make our Nation miserable; I mean *Presbytery*, the pious Mother, Nurse and Seminary of *Civil Wars*, and perpetual Factions among us; so that, for the Foundation of the *Civil War*, which brought so much Mischief upon us, we were beholden to *France*, among the other good Deeds they have done to our Nation; but that I may no longer talk in the Clouds, the plain State of the Case is this.

The *French* having long had a Design of conquering the *Spanish Low Countries*, and conceiving it was no Time to discover or attempt it, as long as *England* should be in a Condition to hinder it, in order to remove this Impediment out of the Way, and the better to attain their Ends, they thought it expedient in the first Place to embroil the King of *England*, that instead of looking to Concerns abroad, he might be employ'd

at

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at home by a factious Party of his *Scotish* Subjects, who before, and in the Year 1639, had shewn themselves very vexatious and troublesome to his Majesty's Government, about the Affair of *Kirk-Discipline*, and its Government by Bishops: This was matter combustible enough for *France* to work upon, and blow into a Flame: So that Cardinal *Richelieu*, Grand Minister of State to the *French* King, giving his Agents in *Scotland* large Promises and Encouragements, fell into a Communion of Councils with them; whereby the Faction was agitated into a downright Rebellion, under the Name of seeking a *Reformation*; whereupon Resolutions were taken for an Invasion of *England*, which was effected; and the *Scots* making their Way with an Army as far as *Newcastle*, took Possession of it; but by the King's Prudence however, they were sent home again, and a Pacification was made, which his Majesty was in Hopes wou'd have had its Effect. But this not suiting with the Mind of the *French* Ministry, and *Richelieu* finding, that there was a Fermentation of the like Discontents, and some Prospect of the same Designs in *England* for the Cause or rather Pretence of *Religion*, the Bellows were blown here also by the same Hand; some of the Heads of the Faction here were brought to an amicable Correspondence of Councils and Resolutions with their Friends of *Scotland*; a conjunct Design was laid for a *second* Invasion upon *England*, under the Name of *brotherly Assistance*; and the Platform of the *solemn League and Covenant* was then propos'd, and approv'd by the Agents of their Friend *Richelieu*, to be set on Foot first in *Scotland*; and by Agreement afterwards to be transmitted in due Time, into *England*. In the mean while the *Parliament* of
forty

forty one being call'd, Matters began to ripen apace for their Purpose, by Means of a prevalent Faction in the House, which so much alarm'd the King and the Court, that he conceiv'd it was high Time to prevent the growing Evil, by discovering, seizing, and accusing some of the Heads of the *Faction*, viz. a Lord, and five Members of the House of Commons. The Articles of the Charge exhibited against them were in Number seven, one of which was, *That they had traiterously invited, and encourag'd a Foreign Power to invade his Majesty's Kingdom of England*; which was so true, that he desir'd a Tryal of them: But their Party in the House, not daring to permit it to be put to Proof, for fear of further Detection us'd Means to dissuade the King from further Proceeding against them: And so the Affair of the *Covenant*, and the other Effects of that *Invitation* ran the more roundly on, to a Ripeness and final Dispatch in *Scotland*.

By the Time that the Sun in its Course brought on the Year 1643, began the second *Invasion of England*, when the factious Party flourish'd their Colours with this insolent and incongruous *Motto*; *For the Crown, and Covenant of both Kingdoms*. From whence we may perceive how far, we were beholden to *France* for all the Miseries of the ensuing War, and the numerous Brood of Factions, which issu'd thence in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*: And as to the Truth of this, we might have had undeniable Evidence, upon the Tryal of those, whom the King had then charg'd with Treason, if the Temper of that Time would have permitted a fair Prosecution: However it was sufficiently talk'd of in those Days, and, I remember, I have seen a Book in the *French* Tongue, which was print-

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ed by *Adrian Valc*, at the *Hague*, in the third Part whereof are eight Chapters, and over the second Chapter is this Title. *Le Cardinal de Richelieu la Cause des Deforders arrive en Angleterre*. That is to say, *Cardinal Richelieu the Cause of the Disorders befallen England*; which he brought in, as we said before, by the Way of *Scotland*, with an Intent to ruin our Peace, in the Royal Family, the Church, and the whole State and Government of these Realms.

But to observe farther how this tampering with, and corrupting other Princes Subjects, is an old Game, which the *French* Ministers have ever been playing all over *Europe*; we should remember how the same *Richelieu* wrought the Revolt of *Portugal* from the *Spaniard*, and the Rebellion in *Catalonia*, and carry'd on the Wars in both those Countries, to bring down the Power of *Spain*; how he instigated the *Swede*, under *Gustavus Adolphus*, to invade the *Empire*; and then the *Emperor's* General *Wallestein* to betray the *Imperial* Army, by whose sudden Death, the *French King* lost the great Opportunity, of working himself into a Possession of the *Imperial Throne*; how Cardinal *Mazarine*, after him, carry'd on the popular Comotions, rais'd by *Massanello*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*, by sending thither the Duke of *Guise* to be their Head to the almost wresting of that Kingdom out of the Hands of the *Spaniard*; how the *French Intrigues* so far prevail'd in *Spain* as to turn the *Queen-Mother* out of her Regency, and drive out her Favourites (such as the Cardinal thought most fit and firm for the young King's Safety) in order to put him into other Hands, and turn all Things in that Courttopsy-turvy, that the *Spaniards* being held in play,
by

by their own Divisions at home might be less able to have regard to the Preservation of the *Flemings*, or to the carrying on of a joint War with the *Hollanders*; how they have been the common Enemies of every State; have destroy'd the Peace of Government every where; have sown Factions in all princely Courts, in their Councils, and among such of the Subjects, as were Malecontents; or have set one Prince against another by Turns, as they did in the Case of the Prince *Electo*r *Palatine*, with the *Electo*r of *Mentz*, between whom they rais'd continual Quarrels, at one time taking part with the *Electo*r *Palatine* against *Mentz*, and at another with *Mentz* against the *Electo*r, until they had miserably harra's'd, and wasted his Country.

Nor can it be forgotten, what they did to corrupt the *Emperor's* Council, by means of his own Favorite Prince *Lobcowitz*, whom they brib'd to betray their Master's Councils and Affairs, the like Intrigues, which they carry'd on with the Prince of *Furstenburg*, and his Brother; what they did in the *United Provinces* to incommode his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, by encouraging the *de Wits*, and the *Lovenstein* Republican Party, against the *Princely*; what they did to annoy the *Emperor*, by fostering a Rebellion against him in *Hungary*; what great Charge they were at, to separate the Power of the Duke of *Bavaria*, and of the Duke of *Hanover*, from the common Interest of the *Empire* in this War; and how they have divers Times endanger'd all *Christendom* by confederating with the *Grand Signior*, to disturb both *Hungary* and *Poland*, for which Cause (as my Lord *Herbert* writes in his History) the Pope had like to have

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given away the Title *Most Christian* from their *French King Francis* the I. and bestow it upon our *Henry* the VIII. before he had been dubb'd by his *Holiness* with that of *Defensor Fidei*, and what Artifices have been us'd by them to settle and encrease perpetual Faction among the *Polish Nobility*, whereby other great Opportunities have, several Times, been given to the *Turk* to fall upon them.

In a Word, their common Practice hath been, to give the World all manner of Disturbance, and to render themselves in its Opinion the common Enemies of its Peace, and a publick Pest among the States and Princes in every Country. For, whenever they come, they either find combustible Matter, or else make it, and then set Fire to it: Being at a mighty Charge to find a Supply for the various Creatures of Faction in all Places. Thus *Divide & Impera* is their standing Policy, and by this Means they conquer more by Artifice, than by Arms; for they inflame Countries, as well as burn them (as is notorious in the Case of *Alsatia*) that having enough to do to quench Fires at Home, they might have neither Leisure, nor Power to hinder *French Projects* abroad. Questionless then, since we in *England* have seen our Neighbours Houses fir'd one after another, 'tis high time to look to our own, and secure our selves and all *Europe* from such *Boutefeus*, and the sad Effects of their impious Courses.

SECTION III

Shewing that, as the French had dealt falsely with us, and all other Princes in the Point of Peace, there was no Security to be had for any one Party, but by a joint War.

HIS Majesty of *England*, having hitherto on his Part, preserv'd a fair Regard and Amity towards *France*, and having pass'd by the many Indignities and Injuries done to himself and his Nation, in Hopes that his Patience might, by fair Means, have prevail'd with the *French* King at length to do Justice to us, and the rest of the Neighbouring Powers, and in hopes that he might persuade him to have forborne a further Prosecution of the War in *Flanders*, that thereby we might have seen some good Fruit of his Majesty's friendly Interposition, in Order to the Procurement of a speedy Pacification; offer'd his Mediation betwixt *France* and the Confederators, which they seem'd gladly to accept. But we soon perceiv'd the Issue was entirely contrary to his good Intentions. The *French* had made an unexpected sudden Breach farther upon *Flanders* in the Depth of Winter, and appear'd resolute to carry the whole Country, if they could, before Spring: So that this Surprise giving a new Alarm to us, and all our Neighbours, the World must justify his Majesty, that when
all

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all amicable Means were us'd in vain, he found himself, in Prudence, concern'd to take a Course by War, to vindicate his own Honour, against the many Violations and Affronts acted by *France*; and by God's Blessing to become the happy Instrument to recover the Rights of oppress'd States and Princes, as well as to preserve his own Nation against the Dangers threaten'd at our Doors, and to restore to *Europe* that glorious *Christian* Peace, which could not otherwise be obtain'd.

For Peace was the Subject of Christ's last Sermon, the great Legacy that he bequeath'd to his Followers. What Christians then are they, that make it their Interest, and Business to destroy it on Earth? 'Tis the Work of wild Beasts and Monsters to infest whole Countries, and when Men act as such, the very *Law of Nature*, as well as of Nations excites, and justifies all Mankind to War against them. For if we look back upon the former part of this Discourse, there we shall see, who are the Men, whom no Treaties nor Obligations cou'd reduce to a more Christian State. Their *Motto* is, *Jus est in Armis*; no *Law but the Law of Arms*; therefore by Arms alone, the Quarrel was to be decided, and that for the following Reasons.

The first Reason I draw from the *summum probabile*; the highest Probability, that if we had not help'd to reduce them, and extinguish War abroad, they wou'd at last have brought it home to us, which I prove by Consideration of these three Particulars.

France's Aphorisms of State.

Their political Creed, and

Their Necessity to continue in War.

First,

First, The first *Aphorism* is such, as is destructive of Peace in all Places, and disposes them to act accordingly; that is, to enter into all sorts of Affairs, by Right or Wrong, and every where became Arbiters, by Violence, or by Cunning, by Threats, or by friendly Pretences. In all the Differences past and present, they, some way or other, wind themselves in to side with one Party, and thence form to themselves an Interest: Nor did ever any People shew the least Dislike to the Government they were under, and an Inclination to Rebellion, but the French fomented it, and made the *factious* their Allies. They never enter'd into any War to favour any Party, but with an Intent to exasperate it; nor into any Peace, but to sow the Seeds of new Disputes; as past Experience hath made evident, and the Stories of these Truths affords numerous Examples: But I now want room to insert them. So, that if we constrain them to Peace, it will last no longer than they can work our Malecontents into Mutiny, and then they will violate that Peace, by encouraging them, or by siding with them, secretly, or openly.

Secondly, A second *Aphorism* is, to have, for their only Rule, *Interest of State*; so that the Faith of Treaties, the Good of Religion, or the Ties of Blood and Amity, cannot hold them. All that the Turks have done in *Christendom*, since the Time of Francis I. to our Time, they owe to the Alliances of France with the Ottoman Court, and to the Diversion which France made in their Favour against any Christians, who were likely to act against that common Enemy of our Religion.

Thirdly, Their third *Aphorism* is, to keep other States, as much as they can, divided, and busy'd at home, or else engag'd in some foreign War, as
England,

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England, Germany, Italy, Denmark, Spain, Poland, Holland, and many other Countries, have had sad Experience. What Peace then with such a Nation, when her Witchcrafts are so many?

Their fourth is, to keep their younger Brothers, of the best Families, always in Arms abroad, at the Expence of their Neighbours.

All these are the *Maxims* of Conquerors, and infallible Evidences of profound Designs to enlarge their Dominions as far as possible; so that to talk to them of Peace, is to talk against their *Interest*; that is, to no Purpose.

The other Thing to be consider'd, is their * *political Creed*, which I shall not give you in my own Words, but as it is translated into *English*.

‘ They believe, what others call Violence, is
‘ but a bare Precaution, and a Pursuit of one
‘ of their infallible Rules of Art, *viz.* That
‘ Conquerors ought to provide for the future,
‘ by destroying whatever may hurt them, and
‘ that they ought to have no Law but the
‘ Sword, the Appetite of Governing, and the
‘ Glory to be had by aggrandizing themselves
‘ at the Cost of their Neighbours. *Pyrrhus* also
‘ believ'd this just, and *Cæsar*, that all Things
‘ were lawful for Dominion.

‘ They generally applaud these *Maxims*, and
‘ hold, that nothing is forbidden them, which
‘ may disturb their Neighbours, and sow Division
‘ among them; that they have a secret Joy in
‘ doing Wrong, and whatever Ills may be most
‘ afflicting, and outrageous; that Pity is a cowardly Virtue, which overthrows a Crown,
‘ whose best Support is Fear, and Impiety its
‘ Foundation; that Arms inspire a Reverence
among

* This was printed in *French* at *Ville Franche* by *Jean Petit*, 1677.

among Men, and Troops are the admirable
Advocates which plead a Cause best; that the
Proclamation of the Cannon is above all other
Titles; that Justice is a Phantasm, Reason
a Chimera, Marriage a Trifle, the Faith of
Treaties an Illusion, and Peace but a Bait;
that their Cabals ought to be full of Mystery,
their Conferences insnaring, and their Oaths but
the Sport of Children, a Trap to catch a Cully,
and a Charm for Fools. They further believe
and say, that Perjury is just, and that (accord-
ing to their new Morals) Ill may be done for
a greater Good; that Sincerity ruins them;
that Perfidiousness is profitable; Imposture of
much Benefit; that Infidelity is the Charter of
a Prince; Faith a foolish Maxim; keeping
his Word but a mean Compliance; and Vi-
olence the proper Hinge to move upon.

Our Tears they laugh at; our Sighs they
regard not; they speak one Thing, and do
another; make great Promises, but never per-
form any. Their Mouth flatters, while their
Heart betrays; they have no Friendship with-
out some private End. Vengeance is sweet to
them, their Protection heavy; they embrace
with one Arm, and destroy with another.
France is the *Proteus* of the Age, and hath a
thousand Faces; she enters like a Lamb, trans-
forms into the Fox, and thence becomes a de-
vouring Wolf. They never pardon; are ne-
ver to be surpris'd; and their Ways are past
finding out. They have a double Face, a
charming Voice, with a studied Behaviour.
They count nothing a Pleasure but what tends
to enslave the People, and lead them to
Despair; and they make a Jest of the Hatred
K of

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of the conquer'd, so long as they can but make them fear.

Elizabeth of *England* always asserted that *France* might be espous'd as a Friend, but never approv'd for a Neighbour; for their Rapidity and Heat consume what they can reach, nor are they able to subsist without coveting and invading their Neighbours Goods, and Territories.

Thirdly, *The last of the three Particulars to be consider'd is, that France is under a Necessity to continue War as long as they can.*

First, This appears, by what I have hinted in the *second Section*, viz. that their King, having brought the younger Brothers of his Nobility, and Gentry (which are very numerous) to depend upon War for their Livelihood, and by War to make their Fortunes; he hath constituted War their Trade. And therefore 'tis absurd to imagine, he will, by any long Observation of Peace, destroy their Employment, and Livelihood: For then, what would follow? Why, they must even prey upon himself at home; he must maintain them, or they will mutiny, and turn popular. For the common People are always apt to run into Sedition, in hopes of easing themselves of their most intolerable Burthens; for whoever among the *Bourgeois*, *Tradesmen*, or the *Peasants*, do get either Lands, or Money, their King as oft as he pleases, demands three Parts in four, and sends Troops of Horse to collect it. These Things I say, may readily dispose them to close with malecontent *Traders in War*, who will be sure to follow that Occupation at home, if they have it not abroad; and this alone is evident enough to shew that he must needs avoid a Peace, though he may seem willing to treat about it, and pretend

tend fair towards it; and perhaps keep it a little while, 'till he can frame to himself greater Advantages by breaking it, which his Interest (you see) will compel him to, in order to avoid that *grand Domestick Mischief* afore-mention'd.

Secondly, Besides Peace is so far against his Interest, that if he grant it, he cannot have any tolerable Pretence to keep up that vast Revenue, which he raises out of the Purse of the People, to maintain his Wars, which I have heard to amount Yearly to above *Eleven Millions of Pounds Sterling*; besides his *Contributions* rais'd out of conquer'd Countries, which are estimated very high, by those that understand them: All which must needs be diminish'd, if he permit Peace. So that 'tis a wrong Thought to imagine that the *French Ministers* should not see, and avoid these Consequences, which would lessen their Profit, as well as their *Master's*.

Thirdly, But to be brief, by another *Reason of State*, he is necessitated not to permit Peace long, because without War he cannot long retain his numerous Princes, Marshals, Dukes, and chief Nobility, in a Dependance upon the Crown, to the Augmentation of their Estates, or the Satisfaction of their Pride, Ambition, and Avarice, but by being able to bestow on them great Military Commands, Offices, and Governments in the conquer'd and other conquerable Places. By all which it appears what Necessity lies upon their *Ministers*, to advise and determine (as Monsieur *Louvoy*, one of the Chief among them did) *that there was a Necessity for their Continuation of War*: And indeed no Man, better than *Louvoy*, understood the Temper, Inclination, and Interest of his *Master*.

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Now if these Things be so, 'tis Time for us to proceed with our other Arguments for War, in Behalf of our selves, and our Foreign Neighbours.

Secondly, Another *Reason*, or *Argument*, for us, and them to engage in that War, is; that as the *French Ministers* cannot admit of a long Peace, so this is one evident Token, they never intend it; forasmuch as they so order'd the Matter of Peace under Debate at *Nimiguen*, that the Treaty was render'd hopeless.

Thirdly, They have hitherto frustrated the gracious Intent, Overtures, and Endeavours of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, to procure a Peace, by *Mediation* on the Behalf of the *Confederates*, and all *Europe*, which is no less than a tacit Declaration for an universal Conquest.

Fourthly, A *fourth Reason* may be drawn from the Ambition of *France*, which is restless, and boundless, never to be satisfy'd, more than is their Avarice, large enough to swallow all the Continent, while they reserve these Isles of *Great Britain* and *Ireland* as the last Morsels.

Fifthly, A *fifth Reason* (had I Time, or Place here) might be copiously drawn from the great Interest of *France*, whose Dominions, from the Ruins of other Nations are enlarg'd to an immense Bulk, beyond all tolerable Allowance. So that in Comparison to them, and their immense Power, and Greatness, the neighbouring States and Princes are become so light, that they are but as the *small Dust in the Ballance*: And therefore if a Course had not been taken, which tended to their Diminution, there would have soon been very little Probability of our being able to give him a *Counterpoise*.

That excellent Prince the Duke of *Roban*, in his little, but curious Book, stating the Interests

terests of several Princes, determines it to be the Interest of *England*, to keep such a Balance of Power between *France* and *Germany*, as not to permit either of them to grow so great, as to be able to oppress one another: And to hold it so even, that if either of them exceed, to reduce them immediately to an Equality: For this was accounted a principal Part of the *antient Grandeur of the English Nation*. King *Henry* the Eighth first well settled it, in managing the Differences betwixt *Charles* the V. then both Emperor, and King of *Spain*, and *Francis* the I. King of *France*, the two grand Competitors of that Age: That excellent Princess *Queen Elizabeth*, well improv'd it; and so it continu'd till the Time of *Cromwell*, who first err'd in this Matter of *publick* to serve his own *private* Interest, by exalting *France* beyond its due Proportion, which occasion'd the Difficulties that have since laid in the Way of Reducing it.

By preserving the Ballance of Power in its own Hand, *England* was always in a Condition whenever she pleas'd, to dispence *Peace* or *War* to every Nation, whereby great Honour redounded to us throughout the World; nor was there any Thing but *War* could restore it, by reducing the vast Extent of the *French* Greatness.

Sixthly, As no *Peace* then could be made, to give us any Security of enjoying it long; so the making of such a *Peace* would but betray us to the next Opportunity the *French* please to take: Besides, that in such an Interval we should only give them the Opportunity of reinforcing themselves, and replenish their Treasury,

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fury, and thereby enable them to prosecute the old *Artifice* of Corrupting other Princes Ministers, Officers and Governors, and to alienate, and separate as many of the Confederates, as they could, from their holding Councils in common for mutual Preservation, and to embrace such Terms, as they, under a specious Shew of Advantages, shall think fit to propose unto them, which, if obtain'd, would utterly separate them and bring this Inconveniency upon *England*, to be left alone, or with but few Assistants to join in the Work of reducing *France* to its legitimate Bounds, and former moderate Condition.

Seventhly, Another Reason might be taken from the Consideration of the great Increase of the Naval Power of *France*, whereby they are embolden'd to give Disturbance to our Merchant-Men in our own Seas, such an Indignity to his Majesty and Violation of our Rights, as is not to be endur'd; and which the Kings of this Island have, from all Antiquity, possess'd as far as the very Shores of *France*, exclusive of any Pretensions of Right in any other Nation within the *Four Seas*: The Evidences whereof were collected, and, with Arguments, drawn from all Sorts of Learning and Records, digested into an excellent Book, entitled *Mare clausum*, wrote by the famous Mr. *Selden*: Among the Particulars whereof I remember, that the Addition of the *Port Cullis* to the Royal Badges of the Crown of *England* (which is yet to be seen upon many of the Royal Houses, built by our Kings) was made for this Reason; even to signify to all the World, that we had a just Right and Title, at Pleasure, to shut up, and open the Sea
when

when we thought fit, as it were, with a *Port Cullis*; and, by the same Evidences it is there prov'd, that the Title to our Property in the Sea is as good as any Title the *French* King hath to any Part of his Dominion by Land. His Grandfather wrote divers Letters, with his own Hand, to King *James* (which have been seen in the *Paper-Office* at *White Hall*) to ask leave for some few Vessels to fish for such *Soales* as he should have Occasion for at his own Table; which was a sufficient Acknowledgment where the Sovereignty lies by Sea. There have been also in former Times, brisk Messengers sent to the *French* Kings, as soon as they had but begun to lay the Carcass of some pitiful Ship upon the Stocks, requiring them to forbear Building: Which shews the Presumption of the *French* in making grand Naval Preparations to invade our Seas; and how our Honour, as well as our Right, calls aloud for a Vindication.

Eighthly, There is one more Reason to be drawn from a Consideration of the Hazard of Religion. 1st, Concerning the *Protestant* Religion, about which I shall not use any more Words to clear this Point, than this short Proverb us'd in *France*, and by them attributed to their King; *that his Grandfather lov'd the Protestants, his Father fear'd them, and he himself hated them*; which any one that beholds the Ruins of their demolish'd Churches, and the hard Conditions under which they were oppress'd in every Point, within that Kingdom (too large here to recite) will easily believe. 2^d, Astouching the *Roman Catholick* Religion, how that is like to fare may readily be prognosticated,

Tros

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Tros Rutilusve fuat, nullo discrimine habebunt ;

Be he a *Papist* or a *Protestant*, the *French* make no Difference in their Usage wherever they come. In Testimony whereof we need only remember how they have dealt in *Catalonia*, *Alsatia*, the *Spanish Low Countries*, and divers other *Roman Catholick Countries*, where all Men exclaim against the Dominion of *France*. 3^d, Whereas it was an old Doctrine, instill'd into the Minds of the *Romans* by their *Father Confessors*, that they ought to adhere to *Spain* and the House of *Austria*, rather than to promote the *French Empire*; (because *Spain*, being then much the greater Kingdom, and esteem'd the dearer Son of the Church, by reason of its greater Zeal, and more strict and entire adherence to the *Romish Faith*, and through the Diligence of the *Inquisition*, kept without any mixture of that, which they call *Heresy*, and therefore more likely to continue firm to the *Roman See*) but now of late Ages, the State of the Empire being alter'd, *Spain* brought much lower, and not able to give such Protection and Defence, as formerly, to the *Roman Cause* in these Parts of the World; the *Pope* and his *Priests* and *Jesuits* are so far alter'd too, that, having since seen the *French* go on like Conquerors, they have quitted the former Reasons on *Spain's* Side, and, like the Men of the World, are turn'd *Courtiers of Fortune*, crying up *France* altogether now, tho' if they please to remember how *France*, upon a petty Quarrel in *Rome*, betwixt some of the *Pope's* Soldiers and the Duke of *Crequi's* Servants, then Ambassador there, treated the *Pope* himself with such unheard of Insolence, that, for meer Fear, he was constrain'd to abandon divers of his
Friends

Friends and Kindred, and to the perpetual Disgrace of the *holy Chair*, of their Religion, and the ador'd Father of *Christians* (as they would seem to repute him) they made him *cry like a Child*, and caus'd a Pillar to be erected in *Rome*, with an Inscription engraven upon it, signifying the pretended Affront given to *France*; which Pillar continued some Years standing, until the Tears of his *Holiness* prevail'd for the Demolishing of it; if they were to remember this, I say, they wou'd be of a different Sentiment. The *Roman Priests* however do venture to magnify *France* as much, as they did *Spain* before, not considering how their *Interest of Religion* declines there, by the marvellous Increase of the *Protestants* and *Jansenists*, and by the Indifferency of Zeal in most of the *French Papists*. For were it not *Reason of State*, that holds it up there among the *Great Ones* for the present, no Man knows how soon it might be relinquish'd; if a little Time should happen to alter that *Reason of State*, or if their *Ministers* should think they have as good Reason to invade *Italy*, as other Places; and, after Conquest of the smaller Princes there, seize *Saint Peter's* Patrimony for an Addition to the *French King's* Revenue, and then make the *Pope* content to become his *Chaplain*, and to be glad of a Pension, as the *Mufti* is at *Constantinople*: Who knows then how far Reason of State may alter it self, and make further Innovations? But let the *Popish* Party look to that; they may hope the best, if they please; but we and all the rest, of the *Protestant* Party in *Germany* and other Parts, must be sure to go to wreck, as fast as they can reach us, and then deal with us, as they do with their own, in the Concerns of Religion, as well as other Things.

L

Ours

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Ours would be sure to go down: And the *Papists* cannot be sure their Religion shall not receive Alterations, especially in secular Advantages of Wealth and Power; seeing even in *France* the King hath already converted to his own Use a great part of the *monastick* Revenues; so that it almost equally concern'd both *Papist* and *Protestant*, in Reference to Religion, to venture their several Powers and Interests in one common Bottom, and to hinder in others this obstinate Pursuit of the Project of an *universal Monarchy*.

Nintbly, The last Argument that might be brought, may be the *universal Inclination* of our People at that Time towards a War, and the like Inclinations, if not Necessity, that appears among our foreign Neighbours. Never was there a more marvellous Consent of Mankind about any one Business; therefore there need not more Words to press it on.



SECTION IV.

An Account of Such Objections and Impediments, as by Malecontents might be cast in the way, in case his Majesty had seen Cause to make a War.

THAT there are Discontents among us, is a Thing not to be deny'd; and the Authors of them are sufficiently known. They are a sort of ominous Birds, always hovering about City and Suburbs, presuming to misrepresent, argue, and arbitrate the great Affairs of State; and such is the licentious Liberty they take to themselves, that they censure, arreign, and condemn what and whom they please. Against the Sitting of Parliament, they always gather and appear in whole Flights and Flocks, breeding false News, and boding Mischief wheresoever they come. They sometimes haunt the Houses of Ambassadors, and other foreign Ministers, if they can get any Intimacy with their Servants, with whom they give and take Supplies towards a Stock of Intelligence; the one to furnish the foreign Post, the other the *Coffee Houses*: Thence they issue again, and betake themselves to their *Cabals*, in order to furnish them with all kind of fictitious News, and to settle Correspondencies both *East* and *West*: And to that End, receive Commission to become *Emissaries betwixt* some

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particular *Wiseacres*. If the Parliament chance at any Time to be prorogu'd or adjourn'd, that Season proves to this sort of *News-mongers* like a *nipping Frost* to *Flies*, and they are even ready to die away like fainting *Grass-hoppers*. There's nothing revives them, in the Interval, like some unlucky Mischief befallen the Court. 'Tis Mischief they gape for, and yet are but Fools at doing it, and therefore ought to be better instructed.

I would object, that it was too late to enter upon a War, because it shou'd have been done before the *French* King cou'd have made his Impression into the *Spanish Low Countries*, and before the *Confederates* were brought so low.

Besides, I would not, with patience, suffer any one to say, that it was not too late; or that, had his Majesty consented to it sooner, there are sufficient Reasons to be given why it might have turn'd very much to the prejudice of his Affairs; as for Instance,

First, Had his Majesty declar'd an immediate Consent to it, it had been all one as to have declar'd a War; for, the *French* are not so slow witted as not to apprehend it so, nor so remiss as not to deal with us accordingly. What cou'd we have expected, but that our Merchants Ships, which at that Time were in great Numbers trading within the Dominions of *France* with all their Effects, wou'd have been immediately seiz'd? whereby his Majesty, besides the Losses of our Merchants, must have lost a great Sum of Money, accruing here to his Customs by the Import of those Goods and Commodities.

Secondly, His Majesty very well understood what an important point 'tis to consent to a War, which

(which is all one in Effect as to proclaim a War) before competent preparation made for it by Money, Ammunition, Men, Ships, and all other Necessaries for War, cou'd be ready to put it in Execution.

Thirdly, The *French King* might then (for ought that can be said to the contrary) have been thereby so exasperated, as to lay aside a while his Affairs in *Flanders*; and, being ready furnish'd with all the Necessaries that we wanted, immediately have resolv'd to fall upon us by an Invasion; and what (I pray) could have hinder'd at that Time such a Surprise of us.

Fourthly, It had been a strange Adventure for his Majesty to have been so forward in engaging himself by Promise to enter into the War, before it was known what the *Confederates* wou'd do to encourage us to their Assistance, for the Distress lay upon them more than upon us; and for that Reason there ought to have been no Delay on their parts, but a quick Execution of what was reasonable to be done in order to engage us in their Confederacy.

Fifthly, Since the *French King*, pretended to accept of his Majesty's Mediation in order to a reasonable Peace, it was questionless very convenient we shou'd stop a while to see what wou'd be the Issue of his pretence, that in case he should play foul, and deceive us, we might have the juster and fairer Cause to go to War with him.

Sixthly, If there had not been any of these Reasons for delaying, yet the happy *Alliance* with the Prince of *Orange*, which was soon after accomplish'd, being a very good expedient to open the Way for further Confederacies, is what
may

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may abundantly serve to ballance any pretended Inconveniency, that our Caution might bring upon us.

But to proceed. If notwithstanding these Reasons, any one of these Men of Intelligence shou'd yet mischievously *object*, that Delay was the Ruin of *Flanders*, and made a Recovery of it in a Manner impossible; let such consider, that the *Spaniard*, by his not closing with us in our friendly Inclination, seems to be of a different Opinion, and that *Flanders* was not so near Ruin; since he himself made a further Delay, by not coming up to our reasonable Demands at that Time, when he so much pretended it, and all Men expected he wou'd accordingly have done it out of hand.

Besides let those *News* and *Mischief-mongers* remember, it was not long after they themselves (in one of their seditious *Clubs*) were of Opinion, that the *Confederates*, if we were join'd with them, would be able to work Miracles in *Flanders* against the *French*: But it seems that the Loss of *St. Ghislain*, or of a Town or two more, had depriv'd us and the *Flemings* of all Power to do what was fit to serve the Country.

It hath been told me, that the like Discourse at that Time being bandy'd about at a certain Cabal of *News-mongers*, one that sat in the Coffee-room stept to them, and said honestly, ' That he wonder'd there should happen among some Men such
' a sudden Change of Opinion, and that it must
' needs give a Suspicion there is some invisible
' Springs that move them, some *secret Intrigue*
' and *Reserve* in the Heart, when the Tongue
' goes at so glib a Rate; and that they were a Sort
' of People tutor'd to argue *pro* and *con* by Turns,

‘ as their own Occasions alter ; that they were re-
 ‘ solv’d to dislike whatsoever the King may judge
 ‘ in Reason fit to do in his publick Affairs ; and
 ‘ that they put on the Approbations and Disap-
 ‘ provements of a War, accordingly as they are
 ‘ influenc’d, and as the *Word* is given out by their
 ‘ envious malecontented *Leaders*, and as it may
 ‘ serve to please, and render themselves gra-
 ‘ cious in their Eyes to whom they are Re-
 ‘ tainers ; I do remember (said he) what Joy and
 ‘ Bonfires the People had, as soon as the Marriage
 ‘ of the Prince of *Orange* was declar’d ; and not
 ‘ many Days after, these Men of uneasy and dis-
 ‘ contented Spirits rais’d innumerable Scandals a-
 ‘ bout it. How far the *French* have had an Influence
 ‘ on such *petulent Talkers*, I cannot say ; but other
 ‘ Men more honest speak broad enough about it.
 — Which having been thus roundly utter’d the
 Gentleman paid for his *Coffee*, and went his Way,
 leaving them all in an Amaze to guess who this
 Man should be.

No sooner was this Gentleman gone, but ano-
 ther, who overheard the Discourse, drew near
 to them (for all are free at a *Coffee-house*) and
 sitting down said, ‘ Gentlemen, pardon me if
 ‘ I tell you, I was here t’other Day, and heard
 ‘ some others of you discoursing about Money
 ‘ to carry on the War ; and methought it was
 ‘ much any among you should think it reaso-
 ‘ nable, and highly necessary to have War, and
 ‘ others yet be of Opinion, that the Point of
 ‘ Money shou’d be encumber’d with Delays or
 ‘ Disputes about it. What wou’d this be, wou’d
 ‘ it not render us ridiculous to the *French*, and
 ‘ make them scorn us ! wou’d it not dishearten
 ‘ the Confederates, and make them jealous, that
 ‘ whatsoever *Resolutions* we take to give them
 ‘ Hope

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‘ Hope of Assistance, yet as soon as they are
 ‘ taken, they will, by one Accident or other, be
 ‘ made impracticable? In Time of Necessity,
 ‘ when *Hannibal* was at the Gates, or any other
 ‘ Enemy nigh coming, the *Romans* ever institu-
 ‘ ted a *Temporary* Officer, whom they call’d *Di-*
 ‘ *stator*, and to him the Senate and People gave,
 ‘ during the publick Danger (but not longer) as
 ‘ full a Power, as the King of *France* now enjoys,
 ‘ to do and take whatsoever he should judge ne-
 ‘ cessary to secure the publick State of the Na-
 ‘ tion; by which Policy they avoided all Dis-
 ‘ putes and Debates about the Concerns of the
 ‘ War, and so they generally came off with
 ‘ Success. Be it far from me to urge at this
 ‘ time, that we should on this Occasion of ours
 ‘ imitate them, but methinks we should so far
 ‘ learn of them, as to do all we can to avoid
 ‘ and lay aside Disputings; especially about the
 ‘ very *Life* and *Sinews* of a War, a constant
 ‘ Supply of Money, and other Necessaries; and
 ‘ to come as near the *Roman Policy* as the pub-
 ‘ lick Constitution, Conveniences, and State of
 ‘ our Government can possibly permit. If we
 ‘ mean to obtain the like happy Success, a Trust
 ‘ must be lodg’d some where; ’tis the best
 ‘ and safest Way therefore to place it where,
 ‘ and in what manner the Law hath plac’d
 ‘ it. The Law obliges the People, as well as
 ‘ the King; it obliges the *King* to make War,
 ‘ where and when he shall bejudge it needful:
 ‘ And on the other Hand, it obliges the Peo-
 ‘ ple, readily and cheertfully to give him neces-
 ‘ sary Supplies; otherwise this Absurdity would
 ‘ be imply’d in our Law, that it would oblige
 ‘ the King, and leave the People loose in this
 ‘ Matter; which can by no Means be suppos’d,
 ‘ be-

because it would oblige him to an Impossibility, it being impossible for him to do his Part, unless they on their Part shall sufficiently supply him; which 'tis not to be imagin'd the People can be so mad as to decline, because 'tis for the common Safety, that *Supreme Law* (which is a farther Tye upon them) and if they observe not that, it is in Effect a frustrating both of Law and Government it self; and, at this Time, an unnatural Abandoning of ourselves, and a giving up of that most noble Cause, wherein all *Europe* is so deeply concern'd. I thought, *Gentlemen*, to have spoken no more at this time; but (craving your Pardon) *Sirs*, let me tell you, I over-heard what some of your Company said; and reflecting upon State Particulars past, the reviving whereof would better become the Mouth of a common Enemy, than a true *Englishman*, being Matters altogether foreign to the Business of War, which is now the *unum necessarium*; and 'till all fit Resolutions upon that be taken, why should any Matters inferior, that may cause Discontent or Division of Minds, be discours'd among you? I will not so much as name them, to give you Cause to over-heat yourselves to answer me; I resolve to bury them, and all that you then said about them: For I am no Spy upon you; I am a Gentleman, and if any other Person, that is an Informer may have taken notice of what you said, and should chance to call me to Witness any Thing against you, know I have a *Gentleman's Memory*, very apt to forget all upon such an Occasion.

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This

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This Discourse (as I have been told) surpris'd them more than what was said by the other *Gentleman*, insomuch that the Company star'd on him with Silence, being most of them (I suppose) of Opinion, that what he said was Reason. But as there is in all Companies some, whom no Reason can satisfy, so there were (it seems) among them some few *Emissaries*, and Mischief-mongers belonging to their *Cabals*, who began to grumble, but presently broke up, and went to the several Places of *Caballing*, and communicated the Matter there to their Principals; among whom there happening to be a *false Brother*, or two, and by that Means I got the Story.

Now for a Conclusion: Let me remind the Reader, that though our Chronicles tell us, that *Edward* the III. conquer'd *France*, and his Son *Edward*, call'd the *Black Prince*, brought their King Prisoner into *England*; and though *Henry* the V. made a second and more compleat Conquest of them, being crown'd King at *Paris*; and his Son *Henry* the VI. also crown'd there and reign'd over them many Years: Yet the Case is alter'd. *France* is quite another thing; it is now one compact Body; it, in those Days, was shar'd by divers *Sovereign Princes*, which made the *French King* but little in Comparison of what he is in these Days; being become exceedingly more potent and more difficult to subdue, by reason of his present Superiority to all those Sovereignities.

But to ballance these Advantages of his, we ought to consider, that *England* is likewise now (through God's good Providence) become much more powerful than it was then; for though we had *Ireland*, yet it was but a miserable half-planted Country, always rebellious
against

against us ; so that it was an extraordinary Charge, and a Clog rather than a Help to us : But now we have it improv'd to the Height, and the *Irish* in as good Order and Discipline as our *English*. Likewise the Accession of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, a numerous and warlike People, which then was also another great Clog upon us, is now united with us. To these Considerations we may add, that by Accession of the Confederates (if they please to be plain with us) we were, I think, a counterprize enough to answer all the *French* Advantages, and no Man that knows what *England* is at Sea, and what an *English* Seaman is, will doubt, especially if *Holland* join with us, we were a Match sufficient for that King ; and that we over-match him in this, *that we had a better Cause* ; and therefore (God pardoning our Iniquities in other Matters) have a better Hope of *Divine Benediction*.

Which being well weigh'd, we may very aptly invert the old Saying of *Cicero*, *Iustissimum bellum iniquissima paci antiferro*, which being a little Paraphras'd in *English*, I, upon the whole Matter, conclude, *That a just War is to be preferr'd before an unjust Peace, which is dangerous to us, and all the rest of the united Powers.*

As for the *Treaty of Utrecht*, how well the *French* have observ'd that, I shall refer my Reader to the *Craftsman* of November 15th, and the *Daily Post Boy* of November 21st, 1729. which have both made large Discants upon it ; there has likewise been since that time communicated to the Publick, by other Writers, several more Quotations, which were writen some Years ago, by that great and worthy Author Sir *Richard Steele*, wherein he has represented the *French* Faith, especially relating to *Dunkirk*, which I re-

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recommend as worthy of notice: But it is with Pleasure that I can say, (or at least hope) the Times are now chang'd. The *French King* is so happy as to be surrounded with *Men* of known Integrity and Judgment at home, as likewise such as are able to take care of his *Interest* abroad, all joining with the good Intentions of their *Master*; resolving to continue in Friendship with his Majesty of *Great Britain* (as appears by their Diligence and Forwardness towards the Procuring a *lasting Peace*) that they have acted more justly and faithfully with us in *Treaties* lately concluded, than their Predecessors in former *Reigns*; so that, after all the Patience the *King* of *England* has had, and the great Care and Pains he has taken, together with the Advice and Resolutions of his wise and able *Ministers*, that his *Subjects* shall have Justice done them; the Result no doubt will prove to the Honour and Satisfaction of his *Majesty*, and his *Allies*, and to the Advantage of the *English Nation*.



F I N I S.

